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CHARLES MASSON

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BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN  
AND THE PANJAB - Vol. 2  
INCLUDING A RESIDENCE IN THOSE COUNTRIES  
FROM 1826 TO 1838

Introduction by  
GARRY J. ALDER

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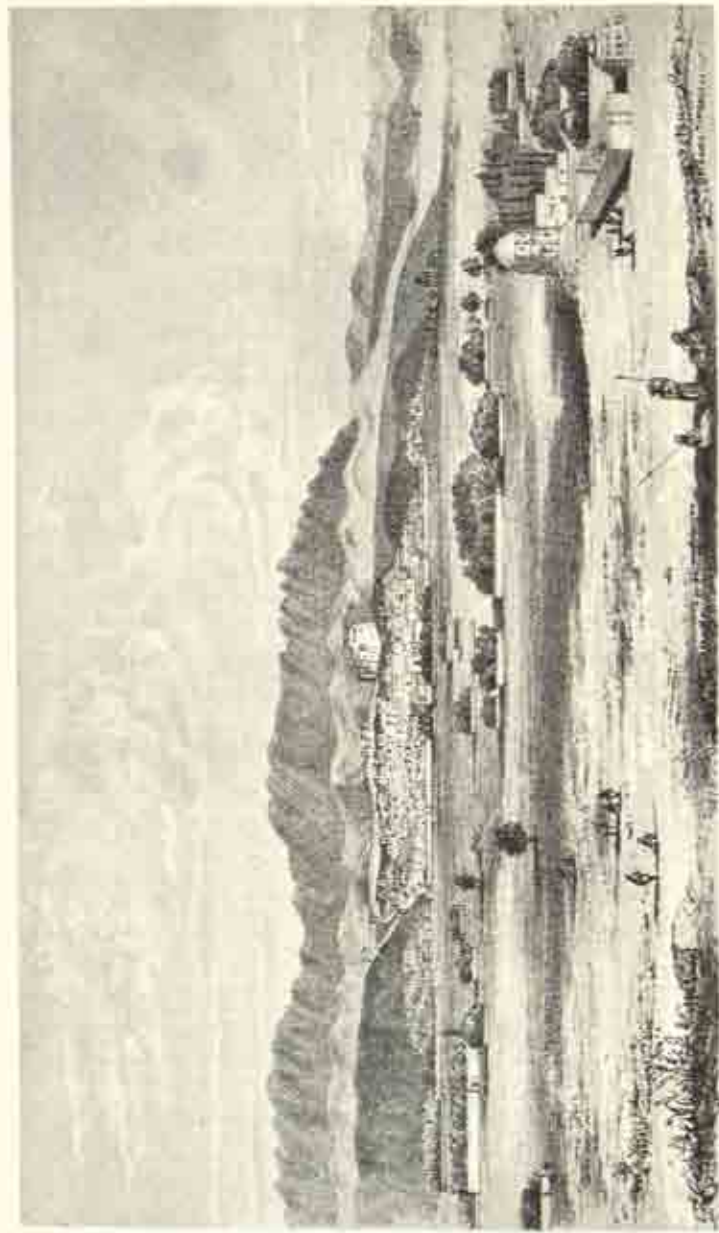
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VIEW of KALÁT, Capital of BALUCHISTÁN

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BY CHARLES MASSON, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



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# JOURNEYS

IN

## BALUCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN, AND THE PANJAB.

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FROM Karáchi I crossed the sea in a dúngihí to Maskát, and thence, in an Arab bagala, sailed



for Kishm, in the Persian Gulf, when, crossing the island, I reached Bassador, then an English station, where I was cordially welcomed by the few of my countrymen residing there. A cruiser of the Honourable Company some time after touching, the politeness of her officers gave me the opportunity of proceeding to Búshír, where I continued for three or four months, under the hospitable roof of the late lamented Major David Wilson, at that time the resident; and a gentleman of a mind so superior, that to have possessed his friendship and esteem is a circumstance of which I shall never cease to be proud. I there drew up, from materials in my possession, and from recollection, a series of papers relating to my journeys, and the countries through which I had passed, which were forwarded to the Government of Bombay, or to Sir John Malcolm, then the governor. I was not aware that such use would be made of them, nor am I quite sure I should have wished it; and I doubt whether it has not proved more hurtful than beneficial to me. I may justly lament that these documents should have been artfully brought forward in support of unsound views and ambitious projects. I may also be dissatisfied, in a less degree, that the information they contained has served the purposes of men wanting the generosity to acknowledge it.

From Búshír, a two months' journey led me to Tabréz, the capital of the late Abbás Mírza. but

then desolated by the plague. Before setting out the sad intelligence of the decease of the envoy, Sir John Macdonald, had reached Búshír, and I found Major, now Sir John Campbell, in charge of the mission. My obligations to this gentleman are more than mere words can express, and far greater than might be seemly to relate in these pages—yet, I may be permitted to record, that if my subsequent labours have proved advantageous to science, it was owing to his generosity that I was placed in the position to prosecute them. With Sir John Campbell were Mr. now Sir John McNeil, and Captain Macdonald, nephew of the much regretted envoy. Nearly, or quite two months I enjoyed the society of the friendly circle, at Tabréz, at the hazard of acquiring a distaste for the rough pleasures of a rude and rambling life. I then accompanied Captain Macdonald to Bagdád, where for some days we profited by intercourse with Colonel Taylor, the resident, and passed down the Tigris to Bassorah, having been joined by the late Captain Frank Gore Willock. From Bassorah we gained Kárák, which has since become remarkable from its occupation by a force from Bombay, and thence crossed over to Búshír, where I had again the satisfaction to meet Major David Wilson, who was preparing to proceed overland to England. Captain Macdonald arranged to return with him, and Captain Willock and myself took our pas-

sages, in a merchant vessel of Bombay, for Maskát, and a pleasant course of eleven days brought us to anchor in its haven. We took up our abode at the house of Reuben ben Aslan, agent of the Bombay government; and a few days were agreeably passed in visits to the Imâm, and in intercourse with the inhabitants.

Captain Willock hired a vessel to convey him to Mándaví, and I took my passage in an Arab bagala, destined to Karáchí. I sailed the day preceding that fixed for the departure of Captain Willock, in April 1831, and that excellent and kind-hearted gentleman accompanied me to my vessel, and remained with me until it was put under weigh. We parted, never to meet again.

The shúmál, or north-westerly winds, raged with considerable violence,—a circumstance in our favour,—and the seventh day after leaving Maskát we came in sight of the castle of Manároh, on the height commanding the entrance of the harbour of Karáchí. It being night when we neared it, we anchored off the land.

During this trip I suffered from lock-jaw, and my teeth were so nearly closed that I could with difficulty introduce between them small portions of halúáh, a sweetmeat of Maskát, so called, of which I luckily had a few baskets, part of a present from the Imâm to Captain Willock; and which for four or five days was my only sustenance. As the trismus arose from cold, its symp-

toms gradually decreased, without the aid of medicine, and on approaching Karáchí the rigidity of my jaws had somewhat diminished, although it was a long time before I could extend them to their full and natural extent; and I have since found that I am liable to a recurrence of this malady. The passage otherwise had been a brisk and pleasant one.

The Arab *nâqúdâh*, or commander of the *dúng hí*, was an intelligent and civil young man. Willing to impress me with high opinions of his nautical proficiency, he daily took up the skeleton of a quadrant, without glasses, and affected to gaze intently upon the sun; after which, with a pair of compasses, he would measure distances upon his map. On one occasion some of the crew attempting to adjust the rudder, which was in a very crazy condition, wholly unshipped it. Availing themselves of their dexterity as swimmers, after much trouble, they succeeded in replacing it. The *dúng hí*, it may be observed, is the common trading vessel of the ports of Arabia, the Persian Gulf, Mekrán, Sind, and Málabár. The proper Arabic appellation is, however, *bagala*, or the coaster, from *bagal*, the side, or shore. It is of low tonnage, and is impelled by a cumbersome *látin* sail; in changing the position of which it is also necessary to shift part of the cargo from one side to the other, to cause a counter-balance, or the vessel runs the chance of being capsized. From



six to twelve hands, make up the crew of a dúnghí, which is probably the form of vessels employed in these seas from remote antiquity.

On the morrow we weighed anchor, and stood in for the harbour. On gaining its entrance, the height of Manároh being immediately to our left, we were assailed by the shouts of the garrison located in the castle on its summit. The nâqúdâh, not understanding the meaning of these shouts, and continuing his course, the soldiers, or armed men, descended the rocks, and fired a few musket-shots over us *in terrorem*. Being sufficiently near to be perfectly audible, they peremptorily commanded that we should anchor, and lower down our boat. The nâqúdâh did so, and sent his boat to the shore. It returned with a party of soldiers. It appeared that I was the cause of these movements; but how these people should know I was on board could only be accounted for by supposing that some vessel must have sailed from Maskât, during the few days of my stay there, and have brought intelligence that a Feringhí, or European, was at that port, intending to embark for Karáchí.

The grand cause of alarm I afterwards discovered, when informed that two European gentlemen were at one of the mouths of the Indus, anxious to proceed to Lahore by the river route, but that the amírs of Sind had hitherto not decided to allow them to pass. These gentlemen, I

subsequently learned, were Captain Burnes and his party.

The principal of the soldiers who came recognized me. He embraced my feet, and told me that he would go to Hássan Khân, the governor of the town, and acquaint him that an ancient guest had arrived. He added, there was little doubt but that I should be permitted to land. He went, and without delay returned, bringing a message from the governor that the orders of the amírs were positive, not to allow any European to land at Karáchí, or even to enter the harbour, but that I should be duly supplied with wood, water, and other necessaries. I explained, that the amírs' orders had reference to ships of war, not to individuals; but this view of them was not admitted. I then requested, that notice of my arrival, with a letter from myself, might be sent to Amír Nassír Khân at Haidarabád. This was objected to.

Finally, the soldiers departed, three of them remaining on board as a guard over me, so far that I was not to be suffered to quit the vessel. The nâqúdâh repaired to the town, and on his return at mid-day, with the sanction of the governor, ran his dúngí into the harbour, and so close to the shore on the right hand that at low water it was left on the sand.

Two of the three soldiers with me were so little inclined to be civil, and were so much impressed

with a sense of their own consequence, that I ordered the crew to give them nothing to eat; therefore, after enduring hunger for two days, they were constrained to hail a fishing-boat, into which they stepped, and regained the garrison at Manároh, one soldier only remaining. As he was tolerably respectful his wants were duly provided for. In the course of two or three days, however, observing my medicine-chest, he would not be satisfied unless I gave him medicine, without having need of it. Judging the opportunity a good one to rid myself of him, I administered a smart dose of jalap, which producing very sensible effects, he was also glad to hail a fishing-boat and to rejoin his companions. We remained two or three days more in the harbour, but I was no longer honoured with a guard.

This adventure at Karáchí, unexpected on my part, somewhat disconcerted me. I saw no alternative but to return to Maskát; and thence, if possible, to reach Bandar Abbás, and from that point viâ Kermân and Yezd, to gain Sístân, Kándahár, and the Afghân countries. The shúmâl winds were, moreover, exactly contrary, and we had to calculate upon a tedious and even dangerous return voyage to Maskát. I learned at Súnmiání, some months afterwards, that the governor of Karáchí had despatched tidings of my arrival there to his masters at Haidarabád, who had sent him orders (received after my departure) to expedite me with

all honour to Haidarabâd, and to allow me to incur no expense on the road. They also severely rebuked him for not permitting, in the first instance, a defenceless and unassuming stranger to land, who had, by his own account, neither servants, arms, nor *boxes*. In justice to the amîrs of Sind, it must be averred, that however politically jealous of the European, they are not so deficient in common sense or humanity as to offer any interruption to the unprotected stranger, whom chance or necessity may conduct to their territories. Of this I had before experience. I passed freely through their country, and resided in perfect liberty and security at their capital. Their political jealousy of the European is owing to their fears of his power; and these fears are artfully kept alive by a few interested persons about them. It must be conceded, that the ignorance and credulity of the amîrs render them easy dupes. It would surprise many to know that these rulers of a kingdom believe that a regiment of soldiers may be lodged in an ordinary box: whence there is no article in the possession of an European that they view with so much distrust. Such idle notions, it is obvious, would be dispelled by increased intercourse and better acquaintance.

Our nâqûdâh did not wait for a cargo, and we weighed anchor and put to sea, with the wind fairly in our teeth. We made, however, little way, passing, while it was yet daylight, the small rocky islet noted as Chilney's Isle on our maps, which the



Sindians call Charna, and at sun-set, on looking behind us, we could faintly descry the white walls of the castle Manároh. Towards night we made for the land and came to anchor.

The shúmâl incessantly raged ; so that after many days passage, working on a little by day, and edging in to the shore and anchoring by night, we arrived off the port of Ormára, into which we sailed to procure water.

The nâqúdâh went on shore, and, it would seem, told the tale of my repulse at Karáchí ; for presently a boat put off, bringing one Chúlí, on part of the governor, Fatí Khân, who had sent me as present a basket of eggs, also an invitation to land. The country, it was told me, was independent of Sind, and that I should be expedited in safety to Kalât, or to any other place I might prefer.

I accompanied Chúlí, and was introduced to the governor, whom I found sitting under an old wall, with a circle of the inhabitants around him. Among these was the nâqúdâh. The governor appeared about forty years of age, spare, and dark-featured, with anything but a prepossessing countenance, in no wise improved by his long lank black hair. He renewed the offers of service conveyed to me by Chúlí, and desired me to consider the country as my own, and himself as my slave,—an ordinary but hyperbolical mode of expressing welcome, and of imparting confidence. I determined at once to remain at Ormára, hoping thence to be able to

reach Kalát; and although I foresaw the probability of an adventure, confided in my good fortune to get over it.

Seeing the miserable state of the huts composing the town, I inquired concerning my lodgings; and an old tower of a dilapidated fort was pointed out to me; the other tower (there being but two) was occupied by Fatí Khân himself, while within the area of the enclosure was a hut, the residence of Baloch Khân, who, I afterwards found to be joint governor with Fatí Khân. My apartment was very crazy, and was reached by a ladder, yet, such as it was, it appeared to be the most eligible that presented; besides, it had the advantage of forming part of the government house, therefore I accepted it. My effects were sent for from the dúnghí; and the young Arab nâqúdâh took his leave, recommending me strongly to Fatí Khân's care, telling him that I was a particular friend of the Imâm of Maskât, and that he would come the next mosam (season) to inquire how I had been treated. I found myself alone at Ormára, among new acquaintance.

I soon discovered that Fatí Khân's principal object in making me his guest was, to be relieved from a complaint, which afflicted him occasionally, viz. an inflation of the abdomen, which happened whenever he indulged in dates, halúâh, or other improper food. I desired him to abstain from such food, but this he said was impossible. I therefore

administered drugs to him; but these he found unpalatable, and discontinued. My presence, therefore, did not much benefit him, he persisting in the indulgence of his Apician appetites, and retaining their consequence in his pot-belly.

Being considered a *tábíb* (physician), I had numerous patients, some of whom I contrived to cure. At length my reputation began to decline, having recommended to a person, who applied for a *júláb* (purge), (my drastics being exhausted,) to drink a tumbler of sea-water. At night, when seated in my tower, and Baloch Khân, with a party, were sitting in the area below, I found the circumstance was a topic of conversation with them. "Ap deriáh bor," (drink sea-water,) said one. "Ap deriáh bor," said another, and all burst into laughter, in which I could not refrain from joining, although at the chance of being overheard by them. Baloch Khân suggested, and all agreed with him, that I was no *tábíb*, but that my object was to examine the country.

I remained above a month at Ormára, occupying myself as well as I could, to beguile the weary days. Baloch Khân had two sons, the younger of whom, a youth of about seventeen years of age, was my companion in the tower, and in mystrolls. He was of good disposition, and could read and write Persian; while, by his assistance, I framed a small vocabulary of the Baloch dialect. With the inhabitants of the small community I was on the best terms, and



they omitted no occasion to show me civility and attention. I had, moreover, made friends with two or three Baloch families, who resided in tents near the wells without the town. They kept goats; and whenever I visited them, I could depend upon being treated with a bowl of milk or buttermilk. Occasional visitors would come from the jangal, and I made inquiries of them as to their localities, their tribes, and their neighbours. Twice I made the ascent of the high hill Mount Araba, which terminates the peninsula on which Ormára is situated; but at other times was compelled to confine my excursions to the sandy beaches on either side of the peninsula.

When the shúmál raged, and it generally did with extraordinary violence, I had no resource but to keep my tower and amuse myself as well as I could with my papers and the conversation of my friends. I carefully refrained, while at Ormára, from exhibiting money, asserting, that I depended upon medicinal practice for the supply of my necessities, although I took care to make more than an equivalent return for any kindness shown to me, and to suffer no service to pass unrequited. I was enabled to acquit myself on these points, having in my possession a few knives, and a variety of trifles, which also were prized beyond money. The two governors were of the Mírwári tribe of Baloches, the most respectable of that community, and which in one of its branches, the Kambarári, gives a khân



to Kalât. They were both natives of Kolwa, in the province of Jhow, to the west of Béla; and although Fatí Khân stood in relation of son-in-law to Baloch Khân, there was ill-will between them, perhaps owing to the jealousy and rivalry of power. The family of Baloch Khân resided with him at Ormára, and consisted of his wife, a respectable woman, two sons, and a daughter; the last, a personable young maid, named Gabí, was affianced to a young man at Passanní, a neighbouring small port to the west. The family of Fatí Khân resided at his native place of Kolwa. It chanced one day, that intelligence arrived of a son being born to him, on which two or three old ship guns, lying in front of the gateway of the fort, were loaded. On the first discharge down tumbled the greater part of the gateway, and my old tower so tottered over my head that I leaped into the area without making use of the ladder. Seeing the disaster of the gateway, the other guns were dragged to a considerable distance, and then discharged. I was thinking in what manner I should depart from Ormára, when Baloch Khân informed me that he was about to proceed to Jhow, and if I chose to accompany him, he would expedite me thence to Béla in Las. I had a wish to visit Jhow, having heard from my young friend, his son, that the ruins of an ancient city existed there, among which coins, &c. were found, also the remains of an extraordinary fortress. It occurred to me, as just possible,

that they might indicate the site of the city founded by Alexander among the Oritæ, and which he peopled with Arachosians. I expressed to Baloch Khân the satisfaction I should have to accompany him to Jhow, and requested him to hire a camel for me.

When my intended departure became known, many inhabitants of the town conjured me not to trust myself in the power of Baloch Khân. Chûlí also represented to me that I was about to take a fatal step; that he was convinced the intentions of Baloch Khân were evil, particularly as the camel he pretended to have hired for me was actually his own, and its conductor his slave. Finally, Fatí Khân sent for me, and urged, that as I was especially his guest he felt himself responsible for my safety, and that he did not like the thought of my proceeding with Baloch Khân. He added, that if I would wait another month or two, he should be going to Jhow himself. I yielded to such representations, and the old sinner, Baloch Khân,—for his hairs were silvered by age,—departed on his journey. When it was known that I remained, congratulations were made me by all, and it seemed universally agreed that I had escaped destruction. The sons of Baloch Khân, I had observed, were not so pleased at the idea of my accompanying their party, as, from the friendly feelings subsisting between us, I might have expected; and when I was apprised there was danger I construed

the reserve of the young men into a dislike that any evil should befall me, while their duty, and regard for their father, prevented them from informing me that I had reasons to distrust.

Some days after, a Súnmiání dúnghí arrived from Maskát, and I resolved to sail in her to her destination. I accordingly took leave of Fatí Khân and my Ormára friends; the former requested me to oblige him with a lancet, which I gave him with pleasure. We weighed anchor about nine in the forenoon, the shúmál blowing strongly, but in our favour, and we had a brisk passage along the coast. By ten or eleven o'clock the next day we had neared the harbour of Súnmiání, the entrance being impeded by sand-banks, over which is a constant surge. Our nâqúdâh had a little erred in his course, and brought his dúnghí directly upon the sand-banks; he saw his danger, but crying "Takowal Khodâ," (By the favour of God,) manfully dashed the vessel amid the surge. A momentary struggle followed, and the next moment we found ourselves floating in the calm waters of the harbour, the nâqúdâh elate, and congratulating himself on his successful experiment, for he said there was not a gaz (yard) of water on the bank. The passage had been as pleasant as quick, and was to me a gratuitous one, for being reputed a tábíib, I was held a privileged person, and was not so much as asked for a passage fee. I took up my abode at Sún-



míání, at the house of Jamál, a companion in the dúnghí, and as the tidings of the arrival of a Feringhí tábíb soon spread, I began rather vigorously to enter upon the practice of physic. I made some unexpected and extraordinary cures, for if I felt myself safe, and knew the disorder I had to treat, I did not neglect the opportunity to do good, and my fame so much increased that I was visited by patients from the distant hills. I had a singular case from the hills, of a personable female, the wife of a wealthy Lúmrí, part of whose face had become white. The husband proffered two camels, if I could by my skill induce the return of the original tint. I remarked, that the lady would look better if she became white altogether. They both smiled, but were not to be persuaded that black was not a preferable hue. This case of course exceeded my ability. I removed from the house of Jamál to a hired apartment in the bazar. The door was latticed, so that I lived rather in a cage than a house. I had made numerous acquaintance, and many of the Hindús were very obliging, particularly two, Tâh Mal and Kimjí. I resided in perfect security and freedom.

During my stay the reigning Jám, or chief of Las, the province of which Súnmiání is the port, arrived, in charge of his mother, from the capital, Béla. I visited him, and found an intelligent child of six or seven years of age. As instructed, he

saluted me with a "Khúsh Amadíd," or "You are come welcome," and I sent him a few pictures, which much pleased him.

This accession of the court contributed to extend the circle of my acquaintance, and I found among the officers of the government many simple and rude, but yet good and worthy men. Arab Vakíl, one of the principal men of the little state, was of this description, and Jám Dínár, a relative of the Jám, joined to his other good qualities considerable suavity of manners.

Having one day taken the likeness of a young Hindú, the son of my friend Táh Mal, by the assistance of a camera lucida, the fact was reported to a lady, the dhái, or nurse of the young Jám; and she could not rest until she had her likeness taken. How this was to be effected was a difficulty. It is not the custom for a lady of the standing of this fair dhái to admit a male stranger to her presence, and she, moreover, was held in singular repute for propriety and delicacy of conduct, upon which she much prided herself. It was farther, as I discovered, necessary, that I was to be fully impressed with the conviction of her purity of mind and elevated feelings, and in no wise to suspect that so common a failing as vanity made her desirous of seeing her fine features on paper. I readily promised everything; and the ingenuity of a Júkía Mírza, a platonic admirer, as he represented him-

self, of the lady's beauty and accomplishments, and who officiated as the *entremise* in this affair, brought about the desired end. She was to believe that she had weak eyes, and that they could be cured only by my placing the camera lucida at a certain distance from them, and I was to believe, that on consideration only of my being a *tábíb* the lady had been induced to infringe etiquette and admit a male to her presence. I was farther to believe, that she was not aware that her picture was to be taken, but that, as the *Júkía* had explained to her, by means of the camera lucida her sight was to be benefited. When all was arranged, and a convenient opportunity presented, the *Júkía* introduced me to this lady; and I found a female of very respectable appearance, if not so handsome as his flattering reports had led me to expect. She was very courteous and dignified, but, like myself, preserved her countenance with some trouble. She spoke fluently in Persian, and was, for such a country, a superior woman. I contrived to get over the business tolerably well, and produced a picture, which I perfected at my lodging, and which, I was told by the *Júkía*, answered the purpose of pleasing her. I had to correct a certain prominence in the nasal feature, which, however, was not owing to an error of myself or my lucida, for it existed in nature.

The season of the year was not the most favourable, yet did I not find the heat inconvenient at



Súnmiání; I was, nevertheless, somewhat suffering in health, and gradually weakened in strength, although without positive or definite ailment.

I was, therefore, thinking of quitting Súnmiání, and was about engaging an armed party of Lúmrís, for the consideration of one hundred rupees, to escort me to Shikárpúr. These men, while willing to have undertaken the task, frankly confessed that they were at enmity with some of the tribes through whose limits they must pass; and that there was the possibility of collision. They assured me, in such an event, I should be the last to suffer, which I could believe, and was on the point of ratifying a bargain with them, and committing myself to chance, when some Patán merchants of Kalât arrived at Súnmiání, from Karáchí. This was a fortunate occurrence, as it gave me an opportunity of visiting Kalât, and I indulged the hope of renewing my health and strength in its fine climate, when I could proceed to Kándahár, Kábal, or elsewhere, as occasion or inclination might prompt.

## CHAPTER II.

Facility of forming acquaintance.—Merchant's surprise.—My metamorphosis.—Exchange of salutations.—Conversation.—Resolution.—Assurance of protection.—Kálikdád.—Hindú civility.—Composition of party.—Leave Súnmiáni.—Líári.—Country.—Pattí.—Uzmán dí Got.—Neighbourhood of Béla.—Appearance of Béla.—Jam's residence.—Tombs.—Advance of party.—Good-will of Kálikdád.—His anxiety.—Departure from Béla.—Mishap on road.—Return of Kálikdád.—Arrival at Walipat.—Kálikdád rejoins.—Walipat.—Puráli.—Remarkable burial-place.—Hills.—Scenery.—Koharn Wat.—Ping.—Halt in the hills.—Trees.—Samahír Khán.—Baloches.—Kálikdád's greetings.—Meeting with our party.—Troublesome night march.—Ormatch river.—Túrkábúr.—Hills, &c.—Water.—Visitors.—Storm.—Barán Lak.—Burial-places.—Wad.—Kairát.—Population of Wad.—Sirdárs.—Plain of Wad.—Náll.—Its reputed antiquity.

THE mode in which my acquaintance commenced with the Patán merchants may illustrate the ease, as well as security, which, in most instances, obtains, of making acquaintances, if not friends, amongst the trafficking classes of Afghâns.

I was sitting alone in my hired apartment in the bazar of Súnmiáni, when one of the merchants, a stout well-dressed person, came in front of my abode, evidently with the intent to address me, but after a short gaze, he turned about and went

his way. The fact was, I was sitting cross-legged on my *cháhárpâhí*, or cot, and, according to the fashion here, without a shirt; and not being in the best humour with myself and the world, my appearance was not very prepossessing. I guessed the cause of the merchant's abrupt departure; and to be prepared, in case of another visit, clad myself in clean white linen, and, preparing coffee, seated myself a little more gracefully. The beverage I drank from a sparkling tumbler, in default of china, and before me I had two or three books. In a short time the *Patán* reappeared, probably without any notion of accosting me, whom he had rejected as beneath his notice, but chancing to direct a glance towards me, he seemed astonished at my metamorphosis; and before he could recover from his surprise, I addressed him with a courteous and sonorous *Salám Alíkam*. He, of course, gave the responding salutation, *Alíkam Salám*, and advanced to me. I invited him to sit down, and a short conversation followed, in which I expressed my desire to leave *Súnmíání*, and he said, "Why not accompany me to *Kalât*?" I asked when he would start, and he said, "This evening," and left me. My resolution was instantly fixed, and I set about packing my effects. Soon after, I was visited by four other *Afgháns* of the party, and they testified their pleasure that I was about to be their companion. I next went into the bazar, arranged some money matters, and hired a camel for two rupees,

to carry me to Béla. I was anew seated in my apartment, when the merchant whom I had first seen again passed, and observing my effects arranged for motion, asked me, "In God's name, are you going with me?" I replied, "In God's name, I am," when he took my hands, and placing them with his own upon his eyes, assured me that he would do my "kistmat" on the road, and would from Kalât provide me with trustworthy companions for Kândahâr, Kâbal, or elsewhere, as I might think proper.

The name of my new friend was Abdûl Kâlik, and he proved to be the principal person of the party. Another native of Kalât, named Iddaitûla, also paid me a visit; and I had never reason to change the favourable opinions of his character I then formed.

Towards evening, having been previously regaled with a parting feast by my worthy Hindû friend Tâh Mal, who had during my stay been invariably attentive, I mounted my camel and joined the Kalât party, who occupied an old daramsâla near the wells behind the town. My other Hindû friend, Kimjî, accompanied me thither, and on the road inquired of me whether he should speak in my favour to the Patâns. I said, I was so satisfied with them that it was unnecessary. On arrival the good man could not restrain himself, and made a few remarks, which elicited a renewal of protestations of service and attention from Abdûl



Kálik and Kalífa Iddaitúla, the latter asserting that he never saw a Balaití but his heart rejoiced.

The party which I had now joined was composed of inhabitants of Kalât, excepting one Yúsaf, a native of Kándahár. The first was Kálikdád. He was portly and good-natured, and was temporarily mounted on a camel, a mare belonging to him being at Béla, where it had been left for the sake of pasture. I afterwards found that he was one of four brothers, who in partnership with a wealthy cousin, Faiz Ahmed, were engaged in trade, and that they had saráis at Karáchí and Kándahár.

The next was Kalífa Iddaitúla, a very respectable young man; he was mounted on an excellent mári, or running camel, which carried also his companion, Pír Baksh, who was returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had seen Bombay, and was full of the wonders there. Under the protection of Kalífa Iddaitúla was a young lad of Kalât, Nasírulah, who had resided for some time at Karáchí.

We had also one Máhommed Rafík, who rode singly on a good mári, and was a good young man; he was appparelled rather coarsely on our journey, but I found, at Kalât, that he had a handsome competence; and expressing surprise at the favourable change in his costume, was told that he had lately married.

The above were all Afgháns of the Bábí zai, or tribe, and with them I was in company, as was also Yúsaf, the Afghán of Kándahár. This lat-



ter person was corpulent and good-humoured, and seemed to act as cook to the party. We ate in common, and considered ourselves especially companions.

There was besides, one Faiz Máhomed, a respectable merchant of Kalât, mounted on a good horse, who had with him two or three servants, mounted on as many camels. Attached to him was one Nawâb, who rode, or drove before him, an ass. Faiz Máhomed was of lonely habits, or being of another zai, did not mix much with the Bábís. He only kept as near to us during the journey as was requisite for his safety.

We left Súnmiání, and, clearing the low sand-hills which encircle it, entered upon the level plain of Las. It was overspread, more or less, with the magnificent *dédár*, a large bush of dark green hue, called *lární*, and the *gaz*, or tamarisk—here a bush. After three or four cosses, the *dédár* was replaced by the *karít*, or caper-tree, and still farther on the vegetation became more luxuriant as we neared *Líarí*, where we halted in a grove of mimosas, east of the village.

We had marched ten cosses, or fifteen miles. In this distance we found water only in one spot, a slough, and there unpalatable. *Líarí* is a small village, containing about twenty mud-houses, inhabited by Hindús, and eighty huts, the abodes of Máhome-dâns. It has a manufacture of salt.

Beyond *Líarí* the jangal is formed of *gaz*-bushes,

mixed with high grass. After three or four cosses it diminishes, and the plain becomes speckled with the caper-tree. Parroquets, doves, mainas, and other birds, are seen. In two or three spaces we passed land which had been once cultivated, but at this time there were no crops, or indications of them. Occasionally a few Lúmri huts occurred, and excepting a few bábúrs, or mimosas, and mounds of earth in certain spots, which might denote the sites of former villages, there were no more positive proofs that the country had ever been better populated. We at length reached the Púrálí river, and crossed its scanty stream, flowing in a wide bed, confined by high banks, and halted under the shade of some large gaz-trees. This spot was called Páttí, and was considered ten cosses distant from Líárlí. About two miles to our right was the small town of Utal.

Passing the jangal on the river bank, Utal became clearly discernible. A short course brought us again near the river to our left, but we did not cross it. The country bore the same features of level surface and jangal; the latter perhaps a little more wooded. We halted, finally, at Usmán dí Got, having marched fourteen cosses. Here were some sixty huts, of sorry appearance.

The road to Béla led through a lane, formed either by pérú trees naturally, or artificially of thorny bushes. Cultivation on either side of the road was pretty general, but the ground was now mostly fal-

low. A few fields of júár and cotton only displayed productive vegetation. The jangal-trees were of finer growth, bespeaking an improved soil; and among them the pérú predominated, and was conspicuous from its dark and close verdure. A few huts are passed on the road, constructed of straw and matting, in a conical form. About a mile from Béla the jangal first permits a glimpse of it, which is rather attractive, the residence of the Jám towering pre-eminently above the other houses of the town. The large dome of the Jám's masjít has also a fair appearance. The jangal again closes it from the view, until we reach the ancient course of the Púrálí, on the opposite bank of which it stands. From the near bank it has still an interesting aspect. We crossed the deep and wide bed of the old stream, which is now the seat of much cultivation, and took up our quarters in a masjít on its bank, and west of the town, which it overlooked, being built on a mound. The residence of the Jám is of mud, and surrounded by lofty castellated walls, flanked with circular towers at the angles. The houses of the town are also of mud, and have but the ground-floor. They are all provided with chimneys for the admission of air, as is usual in the pakka villages of Las, also at Karáchí in Sind. These convenient appendages face the south, and are either the rude originals or awkward imitations of the more elegant structures, called bādghír (wind-

gatherers), at Bandar Abbás, Búshír, Shíráz, and other towns in Persia.



BELA, CAPITAL OF LAS.

Béla contains about three hundred houses, one-third occupied by Hindús. Supplies of common necessities are procurable, but articles of luxury are scarce, and consequently high-priced. There are in its vicinity some old Máhomedan sepulchres. One, west of the town, covers the remains of Músa Naiání, and has a handsome cupola. The town derives its water from wells, some on a level with it, and others in the old bed of the Púrálí, where are fields of vegetables and tobacco, with a large cultivation of rice. To the west of the town are a few date-trees, bearing indifferent fruit, but producing an excellent effect in the scenery of the place. The Púrálí flows a little to the west of Béla, and its waters are seen from it. About a mile north of the



town is the garden of the Jám, stocked, principally, with mango, plantain, orange, citron, and olive trees.

From Béla the party proceeded in advance about a coss, for the convenience of forage; Kálíkdád, Máhoméd Rafík, and myself, who stayed behind, were to join the following day. It was on my account this separation took place, the camel hired to carry me to Khozdár not being forthcoming, as promised. Kálíkdád, who took great interest in my affairs, particularly, as he often said, from the prompt and unhesitating manner in which I had placed myself under his protection, would not listen to my being disappointed in my journey to Kalát, although I protested against his incurring any inconvenience. Three days passed, and the fellow who had engaged his camel, and received a portion of the hire, did not appear. It so happened, we could not procure another. The journey from Béla to Khozdár is dangerous, and no one without connexions, or personal acquaintance with the hill tribes, will undertake it. Kálíkdád was in considerable anxiety lest his companions, from their limited stock of provisions, should have been forced to proceed; still he could not think of abandoning me, alleging, that the passage through the hills might be difficult to me, unless in good and responsible company.

At length the man brought his camel. We secured the animal, and its owner on some pretence returned to his village, vowing to be ready to start



with us in the evening. He was not punctual. In possession of the camel, we left Béla; I seated thereon, while Kâlikdád had his mare, and Máhoméd Rafík, *pro tempore*, was on foot. I was but indifferently accommodated on my new beast, his saddle being an awkward one, and had not proceeded very far ere, twisting round, it precipitated myself and luggage to the ground. Kâlikdád, as soon as laughter at my comical situation had ceased, said it would be really better that he should return to the town, and purchase a camel, for which we had before been in treaty. The chance was, that on the hired beast I should daily be served in the same manner, while, being a bárdár (camel of burthen), it was doubtful whether it would keep pace with the rest of the party, it being intended to gain Kalát by long and hasty marches. I assented, and the good-natured merchant trudged back on foot, giving me his mare, while Máhoméd Rafík arranged himself on the camel. We two went on for Walípat, about three cosses distant, where we hoped, but hardly expected, to find our companions. Kâlikdád, with his purchase, was to join us in all speed. About a mile from Béla we passed a small village of a few mud-huts to our right, and at length, it being fairly night, crossing the dry bed of a mountain-torrent, halted on its opposite bank. Máhoméd Rafík took cognizance of the mare, and, with the camel's rope fastened to my arm, I wrapped myself up in my Arab cloak and went to sleep. During

the night we were awakened by shouts, which proved to be from Kâlikdád, who was hailing us. We returned them, and he joined us with an excellent mári, accompanied by the vender, a young saiyad of Béla. The latter received the price of his camel, sixty rupees, and left us. At daybreak we repaired to some houses adjacent, where Kâlikdád was courteously received, but we learned with regret that our party had proceeded on their journey. Walípat, with the cultivated land around it, was the property of Jám Dínár, before noticed as a relation of the Jám of Las. He was absent, but being a friend of Kâlikdád, his orders had anticipated our arrival, and we were plentifully regaled. Here were a few mango-trees, also mimosas, and two or three pípals, here called doghúrí. There was a good cultivation of rice, the land being watered by a canal derived from the Púrálí, which was sufficiently copious and powerful to turn a flour-mill.

In the afternoon we left Walípat, Kâlikdád on his mare, and I and Máhoméd Rafík on my recent purchase; the hired camel being left with Jám Dínár's people until reclaimed by its owner. We soon approached the low hills in front, under which were a few huts, and a little cultivation. Hence we traced for some distance the bed of the Púrálí, overspread with the trunks and branches of trees, victims of its fury when swollen by rains. In many parts were clumps of living tamarisk-trees and

bushes, forming islands when the stream is full. At this season it was trifling, not exceeding twelve to fifteen yards in breadth, and not above knee-deep. Leaving the river, the road led for some distance through a place of burial, remarkable for its extent and the multitude of its graves; these were constructed in all forms, square, circular, and oblong. Their limits were defined by fragments of grey limestone, while the interior surfaces were laid out in divers patterns, composed of the small black and white pebbles found in the bed of the Púrálí. These are not recent monuments, but from the frequent admixture among them of spots described by larger stones, and clearly intended for masjīts, they are of Máhomedan origin; and to account for the great number of graves, we may suppose some serious conflict has taken place here.

Beyond this silent city of the dead, we entered the jumble of low earthy hills, bounding to the north the plain of Las, and through which the Púrálí works its destructive course. Towering over them, on either side, were superior ranges. The one to the east, some six or seven miles distant, forms the boundary between Sind and Balochistân. In front we had two detached eminences of singular appearance, one having a perpendicular fissure breaking from its perfectly square summit, and the other closely resembling a tower. On approaching them they proved masses of earth in the bed of the stream. This we again follow-

ed, repeatedly crossing the river in its devious windings. The crumbling hills displayed many fantastic shapes, but the scenery afforded by the spacious bed of the river, its small islets, and its banks, shaded by thick tamarisk bushes, if interesting, was not particularly impressive. Finally, we bade adieu to the Púrálí, and entered the hills on our left by the defile of Koharn Wat. This was a strong position. Marching the greater part of the night, we halted in a dara, or spacious water-course, called Bohér. Resuming our journey at daylight, we proceeded up the same water-course for a long distance. We passed in it a spot called Píng, where were a few bér-trees and abundance of spring-water; here we saw parroquets, and the variety of kingfisher called mítú. The dara closing, we crossed a low hill, into another, up which we proceeded until the sun was very high, when filling our massaks, or skins, with water, which was plentiful and of excellent quality, we stole from the road, and rested in a retired spot during the heat of the day, and prepared our food. Our retreat was among large quantities of the fish-plant, a variety of aloe; and, for the first time, I saw the flowers of the plant. Snugly as we were secreted, some camels straying by us, reminded us that we had neighbours, but we did not see them. The trees prevalent among the hills were, the tamarisk, pérú, dédár, nim, the black and white bábur, and other



mimosas, with the useful fish. The kénattí, or palma-christi, also sometimes fringed the rivulets. We occasionally started a wild hog; and partridges, or tittars, abounded. During our progress this day we met a man walking without shoes, who, I was told, was Samshír Khân, son of Alím Khân, a chief of the hill tribes, and one who could assemble a large force. He was acquainted with Kâlikdád, and joked with him on meeting him in so convenient a place. We afterwards fell in with two small parties of Baloches, armed and mounted on mátis. Nothing occurred beyond the usual routine of salutations and inquiries. Kâlikdád always prefaced his intercourse with these people by holding up his hands, and repeating fatíah. In these rencounters we could learn nothing of our friends.

In the forenoon we again started; and leaving the dara, passed through a remarkably narrow defile, not that the enclosing hills were high, but that the road was so contracted. Clearing it, to our great satisfaction we joined our party, who had on our account travelled slowly. We halted awhile, rice being prepared for us. I was civilly received by all, although the delay in the journey might have been imputed to me; and my purchase of the camel was applauded.

We left this spot, called Khânají, and marched the whole night. This was the most troublesome part of our journey hitherto. We passed a suc-



cession of ascents and descents, and on one occasion we were compelled to dismount. The night, however, did not permit us to select our road, and occasionally we may have deviated from it. For a considerable part of the march we did not meet with water on the road: the first we reached was the river Ornátch, running at the foot of hills of some elevation, which separate the Míngchal and Bízúnjú tribes. The Ornátch, with little breadth, has a fair volume of water, and a rapid course. We passed nothing in the shape of a habitation; but on one occasion the barking of a dog induced our party to keep silence. At daybreak we halted at a spot called Túrká-búr. Here we had a small stream flowing in a deep and spacious bed to our right, an arm from which ran in front of us. To our left was a broken plain, but we were on all sides surrounded by hills, some of them of magnitude. These hills, and generally the hills between Las and the Kalât territory, are of limestone formation. Trees were not very plentiful, yet one or two accessions marked our progress northward. To the tamarisk, the bábúr, bér, and físh, were joined hishwarg, a plant prized by the Baloches for its medicinal qualities, and gíshtar, a favourite food of camels. In the beds of the torrents and water-courses, if water be not actually visible, it may be readily procured by making small cavities or pits, when the latent fluid oozes forth, and

fills them, while, undergoing at the same time the process of filtration, it is beautifully clear.

At Túrkábur we were visited, at various times, by a few individuals, all of them Mínghals. They were not numerous enough to make exactions, under pretence of duty, or sang, as they term it, and therefore were contented with small presents of tobacco, and other trifles, which Kálikdád and others thought fit to make. In return, they entertained us with the melodies of their pipes of reed, with which all were provided. A party passed us, dragging after them a sheep, which it seemed was destined to be a kairát, or offering at some shrine, to which they were conveying it.

Towards evening much rain fell, and, being unprovided against such an accident, we were miserably drenched: thunder and lightning accompanied it. The streams beneath us were promptly augmented; their torrents rolled with impetuous rapidity. On the cessation of the storm the body of water also decreased, but, by filling the hollows in the bed, our progress became somewhat embarrassed in our next march, which, for some distance, led up it.

We kindled fires, and dried our apparel, &c. as well as we could, when, night drawing nigh, we put ourselves in motion. Tracing the bed of the torrent, we at length left it, and commenced the ascent of a kotal, or pass, called Bárán Lak.

Surmounting it, we came upon an excellent road in a fine level valley, four or five miles in breadth, parallel ranges of low hills enclosing it ; its length was more considerable. We perceived no habitations ; but the soil was dotted by small trees, the olive, *bábúr*, and *perpúk*, the latter rich in its lovely orange blossoms. Occasionally, we passed large burial places, with *masjíts* amongst them, defined by stones, as we had formerly seen ; and hinting that these sequestered seats had been, at times, disturbed by the din of war, and defiled by the slaughter of contending hosts. The sun was above the horizon ere we had reached the end of the valley, where low eminences, abounding with the fish-plant, separate it from the plain of Wad. We soon traversed these, and passing, first a detached rock, and then a small rivulet, arrived at the dry bed of a water-course, on whose farther bank stands the town, if it must be so called, of Wad. This we gained, and took up our quarters in some unoccupied tenements.

We halted at Wad ; and—as we had now cleared the Minghal hills, and had arrived at a place where, if the *Khân* of *Kalât*'s authority is not much respected, the chances of danger on the road had much abated, and the road onward to *Kalât* is considered comparatively safe—my companions, to testify their gratitude, killed a sheep by way of *kairát*, or offering, and consumed it themselves. Wad is a small town, comprising two parcels of

mud-houses, distant about one hundred yards from each other. The western portion contains about forty houses, principally inhabited by Hindú traders; the eastern portion contains some twenty-five or thirty houses, tenanted by Máhomedans. Among these are the residences of the sirdárs, or chiefs, of the great Minghal tribe, Isâ Khân and Walí Máhomed Khân; for the town, such as it is, is the capital of one of the most numerous tribes of Balochistân. The house of Isâ Khân is distinguished from the others by a single tree within the walls, and none of the houses have a second story.

From north to south, the plain of Wad has an extent of five to six miles; from east to west it is more considerable; indeed, to the west the country is open, and no hills are visible. Contiguous to the town were no signs of cultivation; but under the hills, to the east, much wheat and júár are grown. About fifteen miles west, a little south of Wad, is Náll, the little capital of the Bízúnjú tribe, and generally, as at this time, at enmity with the Minghals. The former had now for allies two other tribes, the Samaláris and the Mámasanis. Náll is said to resemble Wad in size, but has a castle, or defensive structure; and by the Bízúnjús themselves is reputed a site of great antiquity. It is probable that, being seated more immediately than Wad on the skirt of the plateau gained by the passage of the Bárân Lak rangé, the high road from the coast to Khozdár



and Kalât anciently led by it. That it should be disused now, is explained by the bad reputation of the Bízúnjús, who, in ferocity and proneness to rapine, are said to exceed the Minghals; and they are, if possible, less under the control of the government of Kalât.



## CHAPTER III.

Samán dara. — Míán dara. — Khozdár. — Scenery. — Town. — Gardens. — Lead-mines. — Khappar. — Zidí. — Advantageous site of Khozdár. — Antiquity. — Vestiges. — Shower. — Obelisk. — Bághwán. — Terk. — Chiefs. — Change in temperature. — Lákoríán. — Anjira. — Gohar Basta. — Oleanders. — Sohrab. — Road to Kalát. — Súrma Sing. — Damb. — Rodinjoh. — Sheher Kúki. — Recourse to the toilette. — Approach to Kalát. — Met by friends. — View of Kalát. — Distant prospect. — Faiz-Ahmed — His respectability and notions of me — His political acumen. — Háji Abdúláh. — Kálikdád. — Abdúl Hab. — Abdúl Wahad. — Mehráb Khán's absence, and designs. — Dárogah Gúl Máhomed. — Indifferent health. — Occupations. — Propose to visit Chehel Tan.

RESUMING our journey from Wad, we passed a garden belonging to Isá Khán, well stocked with apricot-trees, and watered by a fine canal. Beyond it we crossed the wide bed of a mountain stream, but dry, and a little after entered a dara, or valley, called Samán. To our left the rocks were of a dark reddish brown hue, those to the right were agreeably tinged with light pink and purple shades, as they reflected the rays of the setting-sun. We marched the entire night, crossing at intervals the beds of many torrents and rivulets: in some of them water was found in cavities, and in two or three were continued streams. Samán dara was of great length, and widened towards its northern extremity.

Here the soil had obviously been cultivated, but no huts were seen. A spot occurred, called Míân Dara, a usual halting-place for kâfilas. Where the dara closed, low hills commenced, when the morn overtook us, and most of our party were so exhausted, that they halted, but Kâlikdád, Máhoméd Rafík, Yúsaf, and myself, pushed on, and from a high table space we at length descried the plain of Khozdár. About us were small patches of cultivation; and still proceeding, we neared the town, which, after the dreary country we had traversed, in despite of its actual insignificance, was sufficiently attractive.



Its environs were embellished with date-trees, and adjacent to it were two or three gardens. The greatest extent of the plain was from north to south. It had much cultivated land, and a verdant chaman, or pasture, through which meandered the

slender rivulets, supplied from many springs. Over the surface, besides the town and ruined fort, seated on and about a small mound, were sprinkled several hamlets, of two and three houses each, water-mills, groves of mulberry-trees, with the *búngbís*, or matted huts, of the pastoral Baloch families. Such features, with the grazing flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of camels, formed the scenery of the plain of Khozdár; but it derived its chief interest at the time of the morning I first gazed upon it from being under the shadow of the very high hills of abrupt and singular outlines, which bound it to the east and south-east, and which effectually exclude the sun's rays from it, while the rest of the country around is illumined by them. It was not less interesting to view the gradual diminution of the shade thrown over the valley from the hills, and to observe the contrast of its gloomy and sunny parts. Descending into the plain, we crossed the dry bed of a nalla, or *rúd-khána*, whose waters, when filled by rains, flow into the Hab river, and halt under some trees a little east of the town.

Our friends joined late next day, and complained of the long march we had made from Wad. The town contained about sixty houses, among them only three inhabited by Hindú traders. Formerly, as many as thirty dwelt here, when the place was esteemed flourishing. There is a small artificial tappa, or mound, on which are the ruinous walls of a modern structure. Its gardens yield grapes,

apricots, melons, mulberries, and pomegranates; the latter are said to be good. Of vegetables there are, *métí*, *kolfah*, *bâd-rang*, and *bâdinjân*. Wheat is raised in large quantities, and is exported, procuring a good price, from its superior quality. The rivulets are fringed with mint, star-flowers, and two or three varieties of iris. In the hills near Khozdâr lead is found, which, being easy of fusion, is smelted by the Brâhúí tribes to make bullets, but no advantage beyond this is taken or derived from the presence of the metal. Antimony is also said to occur.

West by a little north of Khozdâr, and distant about ten miles, is the small town of Khappar, capital of the district inhabited by the Kaidrání tribe. About fifteen miles north-east is the small town of Zídí, held by the Sâholí tribe. The site of Khozdâr would seem to be an eligible one, as to it converge many roads; and with its facilities of communications with the neighbouring regions, it is difficult to account for its complete desertion. Besides the roads which lead to it from the coast, the western provinces, and Kalât, one exists from Gandáva; another leads from Júí in Sind.

Khozdâr, figuring in Persian romances, and having been formerly, beyond doubt, a place of note, I cast my eye over the plain to ascertain if there was any object which might be referrible to a remote epoch. My attention was directed to a considerable tappa, or mound, north of the town, and towards it I bent



my steps. On the way, I found the soil strewed with fragments of burnt brick and pottery over a very large space; indeed I could not define its full extent. I strolled for some time over it, in the hope of picking up a relique, perhaps a coin. In this I was disappointed, but met with numerous lumps of slag iron, and fragments of dark-coloured glass, or some other vitrified substance. The tappa itself had the remains of mud-walls, comparatively modern, on its crest, and at its base were sprinkled a few mulberry-trees.

In the evening rain fell in torrents. The rúd khâna was instantly filled by a stream, of surpassing violence and rapidity, which diminished and disappeared as speedily. In the morning its bed was again dry.

From Khozdâr we followed the bank of the rúd khâna. The soil in this direction was alike strewed with fragments of burnt brick and pottery. We reached a rude obelisk of mud, twenty to twenty-five feet in height; the base of cemented stones. This might be a boundary mark, or probably a sepulchral monument, the form being observable in some burial places near Kalât. It stands on the edge of the rúd khâna, into which, at this point, the road leads. In front was an old building, which, on reaching, I conjectured to have been a masjît, and it stands in an old place of burial. It is the only erection in the plain of Khozdâr built of kiln-burnt bricks. Beyond it we crossed a fine chishma, inter-



secting our road. The course from Khozdár to Bâghwân lies through a spacious *dara*, not of uniform level surface, but of undulating character. On entering the plain of Bâghwân we passed among its several small villages, mingled with which are the ruins of an old fort, of substantial construction, with some *zîárats*, and tombs of singular appearance. We halted at the northern extremity of the plain, near a mill-stream. Bâghwân has a cluster of small villages, interspersed with gardens and trees. The fruits are figs, apricots, grapes, pomegranates, apples, plums, and melons. There is a cultivation of the grasses, and an extensive one of wheat. On entering the plain we were delighted with the fragrance of the plant (now first occurring) called *terk*, in Pashto, and *búntí* in Kúr Gâlí, so general over the regions of Khorasân and Afghânistân. Bâghwân is enjoyed by four brothers, of the *Eltârz Zai* branch of the *Kambarári* tribe, the principal of whom are *Kamâl Khân*, and *Chapar Khân*. They are related to the *khân* of *Kalât*. About five miles west of Bâghwân a line of trees under the hills denoted the locality of *Sheher Mír*, a small village, where the *khân* of *Kalât* resides when he visits this part of the country.

We halted at Bâghwân during the heat of the day, and at evening resumed our journey, entering low hills, which are here considered the limits between Hindústân and Khorasân. The climate and vegetable productions of Bâghwân, indeed, assimilate to

those of the latter region ; and during this night's march we experienced a sensible depression of temperature. I had no means of verifying the latitude of Bâghwân, or of any other place, which I regretted, as precisely the same change in climate and productions distinguished it as marks so strongly Gandamak and Jigdillak on the road between Peshâwer and Kâbal, and both are the limits of the fragrant terk. Our journey was over a bleak sterile country, intersected by ravines and water-courses. Patches of cultivated land now and then were met with, and we crossed an occasional chishma. By daybreak we had reached the level valley of Lâkoriân, where were some curious remains of walls, parapets, and bands, constructed with care, of stones, which appeared to have been fashioned. My opportunity for observation was too slight to enable me to form any decided opinion as to the object of these works of labour, but it was apparent they were vestiges of other days. On leaving the plain of Lâkoriân, which is considerably elevated, a short defile connects it with the more extensive plain of Anjîra. Over this defile nature had interposed in part a wall of rock, and the deficiency has been supplied by works of similar materials and workmanship. The dreary plain of Anjîra has at the skirts of the hills surrounding it near Lakoriân the same kind of walls, parapets, &c. Tradition has no surmise to offer concerning these memorials of the past. The natives call them Góhar Basta, or the works of in-

fidels. I have since learned that analogous structures are found in the *dara* of the Múllöh river, along the line of road from Sohráb to Panjghúr, and in the vicinity of Kalât, particularly in the *daras* of Kirta and of Rodbár, between Kalât and Kirta. The plain of Anjira has a descent from Lákoriân. We halted at a *chishma*, where was a little ploughed land, but over the plain was neither village nor hut.

Having reposed and refreshed ourselves at Anjira, we started in the afternoon for Sohráb. We crossed the dry bed of a water-course, in which were numerous bushes of the *gandéri*, or oleander, now charged with their splendid tufts of red blossoms. These plants, I remembered, embellish the rivulets of the hills between Khist and Kamarej in Persia. Their leaves are said to be poisonous to cattle, and the Bráhuís have a saying, "*Am chí tálen ka jor*," or, As bitter as *jor*, the latter word being their name for it. The road to Sohráb was pretty good; to our right, or north, we had the range Koh Márân, extending from Anjira. On reaching Sohráb we saw, some distance to the west, a line of trees, the site of the village of Nigghár, by which leads the road to Panjghúr and Kej. Passing the village of Dan, amid some well-cultivated land, and with a good canal of irrigation, we struck off the road for the village of Sohráb, where we halted. Faiz Máhoméd and his party proceeded a little farther on to Rodaní, a small village embosomed in mulberry-groves. At



Sohráb were two or three Hindú residents, but they are not to be found at any other of the six or seven villages clustered in this plain. The night air here was very cold, as was the water.

From Sohráb the ascending and spacious valley was bounded on either side by parallel ranges of hills. Those to the east, of sharp and fantastic outlines, but of moderate height; those to the west, of more elevation, and a continuation of Kóh Máran. Under them we first observed the little village of Hâjika, and beyond it that of Dilwar-sheher. Still farther, some red hills at their base, were pointed out as the site of the village of Kísandún, where parties from Kalát are wont to repair to enjoy the pastime of the chase. In our progress we had crossed the dry bed of a rúd khâna, which afterwards attended us on our right hand. We passed some rocky elevations immediately left of the road, called Súrma Sing, where, it is said, after rain antimony may be collected — whence their name. The rocks have, in truth, a dark blue, or purplish hue. Beyond, at a spot called Damb, where water is found in a hole, or well, in the bed of the rúd khâna, we rested awhile; after which we continued our course to Rodinjoh, a village of twenty-five houses; and here we halted for the night.

At this place were two or three neglected gardens, as many sanjít and willow trees on the borders of a canal of irrigation, and a little cultivated land. On the plain west of the village was a tappa,

on the summit of which were a few ruins of mud walls, and again, under the nearer hills east of it, were vestiges, as asserted, of a city, by tradition famous, called Sheher Kúkí. On the same authority, it was destroyed by Jinghiz Khân, who has, also, the credit of having dammed up a variety of springs, from which water, it is believed, once issued and fertilized the plain. Certain it is, that both here and at Kalât the springs have the appearance of having been wilfully closed. As the next march would conduct us to the capital, and my companions to their friends and families, recourse was had to the assistance of the toilette. Razors were put in requisition, heads were duly shaved, and beards and mustachios appropriately trimmed, while linen, which had been unchanged during the journey, was replaced by cleanly supplies in store. Kâlikdád alone made no change in his apparel or appearance, and entered Kalât the following day as dirty and good-natured as he had been throughout the journey.

Our course to Kalât led through a wide, even *dara*. The hills to the west, called Kâlaghân; those to the east, Koh Kúkí and Saiyad Ali; the latter being succeeded near Kalât by Kóh Zoár. The *dara* itself is named Régh, and produces some wheat in rainy seasons. About midway low eminences close the *dara*, and among them is a spot called Takht Bâdshâh, or the King's Throne. Approaching Kalât, we were met by Abdúl Wáhad, a brother



of Kâlikdád, and afterwards by several other persons, who came to welcome their relatives and friends, notice of their arrival having been given by Faiz Máhommed, who had pushed on before us from Rodinjoh. Nearing a hill, called Koh Mirdân, to the west, Koh Zoár being immediately to the east, we had the first view of the gardens of Kalât, and after rounding Koh Mirdân we had a fine view of the town, which, with its lofty Mírí, or fortified palace, had a striking appearance; nor did the eye less delighted dwell upon the verdure of the gardens which studded the plain. The expanse of plain and hills in front, over which the peak of Chehel Tan was distinctly visible, suggested many ideas of novel scenes and future gratification. These contributed to increase the satisfaction with which I first viewed Kalât. We moved on to the house of Kâlikdád, a little south of the town, in the suburb occupied by the Bábí Afghân tribe. His first care was to provide me with a distinct and comfortable lodging.

On arrival at Kalât one of my first visitors was Faiz Ahmed, the most wealthy and respectable of the Bábí merchants, and cousin of Kâlikdád. He highly approved of the latter's attentions to me during the journey. Kâlikdád was one of four brothers; Háji Abdúláh being the eldest, after whom was my friend; to him succeeded Abdúl Hab and Abdúl Wáhad. The four were in a kind of commercial partnership, to which was joined Faiz Ahmed; and so intimate was the union of these five persons that

they had a common table. I had now become their mutual guest. Faiz Ahmed was held in universal respect, and deserved to be. He had conceived the notion that I was an agent of the British government, and although he did not press his ideas upon me, after I had told him they were incorrect, he would frequently seek to entrap me, sometimes offering large sums of money, taking in return drafts on Bombay; and at others, urging me to accept a valuable horse, which, he observed, might answer my purpose as a present to the hákam, or governor of Bombay. Faiz Ahmed was well thought of by the Khán of Kalát, who had more than once the wish to have deputed him on a mission to Bombay. The honour was declined, principally because the merchant had a dread of the sea, which he had determined only to encounter when his religious duty should lead him across it, in pilgrimage to Mecca. To give an idea of his political tact I may note, his once asking me, in talking of the party proceeding to Lahore *via* Sind, (which I afterwards learned to be that of Captain Burnes,) whether the doctor attached was not sent to examine Ranjit Singh's pulse, and to ascertain the length of his life.

Hájí Abdúlah, the elder brother of Kálíkdád, was a singular character; a fanatic, little short of a madman. He pretended to a dash of búzúrghí, or inspiration, and acted at times very tyrannically, setting on fire the huts of Hindú fáquirs, and pro-

scribing the use of tobacco. He was wont to ride on a white ass, which he had taken to Mecca with him. A present of coffee I made him much pleased him, as its decoctions, by dispelling sleep, enabled him to sit up the greater part of the night and read the Korán. The Hâjí was, from eccentricity, accustomed to clad himself strangely, and was sakht, or stingy, to a degree. Kálikdád, as will have been already known, was a portly, good-humoured personage, who seemed to have no desires beyond sustaining his corpulence, passing quietly through life, and making one rupee two in the ordinary routine of commerce. Abdúl Hab was a very sober, staid, and good person. He was better educated than his brothers, and was the learned clerk of the family. He sometimes journeyed to Sind and Kándahár, on the commercial business of the firm.

Abdúl Wáhad, the younger of the brothers, although receiving a small share in the profits of the trade, concerned himself in no mode with it. He led what may be called the life of a gentleman; that is, was always idle. He soon attached himself to me, and having nothing better to do, generally spent the greater part of his time in my company. With Látíf, a younger brother to Faiz Ahmed, he became the most constant of my companions.

On reaching Kalât, its chief, Mehrab Khân, was said to be at Gandává, in Kachí, but a day or two after we learned that he had arrived at Sohráb,



where he intended to assemble an army, either to be prepared against any movement of the Sirdárs of Kándahár upon the northern province of Jhála-wân, or to reduce the rebellious tribes to the west, and to put the province of Kej in order. The city was in charge of the khân's young brother, Mír Azem Khân, but the actual authority was vested in the Dárogah Gúl Máhomed, a man much respected. My appearance was reported to the Dárogah, and it was suggested that I was a jásús, or spy. He replied, it was very probable, but my object could not be with his country of hills and rocks. I soon found that I was likely to be detained for some time at Kalât, waiting for companions to prosecute my journey northward. I could have passed my time very agreeably in a place so quiet, and where the inhabitants of all classes were so civil and obliging, had my health not, unhappily, failed me. Its bad state prevented me from making many excursions I had contemplated, and I was compelled to limit my endeavours to ascertaining facts, and collecting information, illustrative of the portion of country into which my fortune, or, to use a Máhomedan term, my nasíb, had led me.

It chanced that Gúl Máhomed, a respectable native of Khának, a village at the foot of Chehel Tan, who had been for some time a guest of Faiz Ahmed at Kalât, was about to return to his home. I conceived the desire to accompany him, as well anxious, if possible, to reach the summit of Chehel

Tan, whose taper peak continually tantalized my sight whenever I moved abroad, as hopeful to benefit my health by change of air and exercise. I mentioned my wishes to Faiz Ahmed, who approved of the trip, recommended me to the attentions of Gúl Máhoméd, and charged him to conduct me to the house of Shádí Khân at Mastúg.



## CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Kalát.—Tomb.—Bábá Walf.—Villages.—Malgozár.—Ziárat.—Ghiddarân.—Kárez Garâni.—Baloch family.—Repast.—Shepherd's bounty.—Baloch—His intentions—Abandons them.—Ghwen-trees.—Mangarchar.—Baloch hospitality.—Plain of Mangarchar.—Ambâr.—Kûr.—Tomân.—Civil welcome.—Fatî Máhoméd.—Wounded man.—Bráhuí gratitude.—Dhai Bibí's garden.—Hindú dwelling.—Zard.—Hindú's hospitality.—His rivalry in generosity.—Kénittí.—Gúl Máhoméd's pious offices.—Contorted hills.—Flowering plants.—Fine view.—Ab-Chotoh.—Yellow ochre.—Hills of Khad.—Disagreeable night.—Sir-i-âb.—Illaiyâr Khân.—Reception.—Shádî Khân.—His wounded relative.—Fray.—Baloch obligations.—Gardens.—Tombs.—Mastúg.—Chammari.—Farewell to Shádî Khân.—Mir-Ghar.—Mahoméd Khân.—Tirí.—Shékh Lánghow.—Gúl Máhoméd's relatives.—Shamé Zai.—Gúl Máhoméd's residence.—Kairât.—Sultry weather.—Tomân.—Society.—Preparatory measures.—Apprehensions.—Start for Chehel Tan.—Ascent.—Difficulties.—Surmount them.—Halting place.—Baloch repast.—Its excellence.—Bonfires.—Farther progress.—Ascent of peak.—Ziárat.—Discontent of party.—Extensive view.—Daaht-bí-dowlat.—Hill ranges.—Koh Dohji.—Peak in Khárân.—Bráhuí panic.—Return.—Memorials of visit.—Descent.—Fossil shells.—Their varieties.—Separation of party.—Water.—Gúl Máhoméd's vigilance.—Quick perception.—Discharge of pieces.—The object.—Defile.—Pálléz.—Animals and plants of Chehel Tan.—Variations of temperature.—Zones.—Enthusiasm of Bráhuís.—Altitude of Chehel Tan.—Snow.—Peaks.—View.—Facilities for survey.—Ziárat of Chehel Tan.—Legend.—Házrat Ghous.—His benediction.—Bráhuí credulity.—Juvenile commemoration.—Announced return to Kalát.

IN company with Gúl Máhomed, I departed by daybreak, having taken temporary leave of my Kalât friends the preceding evening. Skirting the walls of the town at a little distance, we passed the tomb of the son of the Vakíl Fatí Máhomed, slain by his relative, Khodâbaksh, the former sirdâr of Jhálawân. It is one of the usual octangular monuments surmounted with a cupola, and although constructed but fifteen or sixteen years since, and still one of the most conspicuous objects of the kind near Kalât, it is, from the perishable nature of its materials, and from the little skill of its architects, fast falling into decay. About a mile beyond it, we had to our left, under a detached hill, the zîarat and gardens of Bá bá Walí. Here is a fine spring of water, and holiday parties from the town frequently visit the spot, particularly the Hindús. In a line with Bá bá Walí to our right, was the village of Kóhing, consisting of dispersed groups of agriculturalists' houses, with three or four adjacent gardens. Our road neared the northern extremity of the hill of Bá bá Walí, under which is a water-course, which we traversed until we came upon the villages of Malgozár and Malarkí, the road leading between them. They comprised respectively numerous scattered houses, a large proportion of which were in ruins, and had many small gardens, with an extensive cultivation of gáll, gállarchí, aspúst, and tobacco. The plain was open and well irrigated. Passing the last habitation of Malgozár, prettily

situated in its garden around a huge mass of rock, we had a range of low hills immediately to our right. The plain ascended, and was covered with the usual wild and fragrant plants of the country. About three cosses from Kalât we came in line with the village of Zíárat, seated under low hills, to our left, about a mile distant. A coss farther, brought us on a line with Garúk, also to our left and on the opposite face of the hills, but visible through an aperture in them. The rivulet of Ghiddarân issued from the hills on our right: this stream, turning five or six mills, flows westerly across the plain to Zíárat, whence it winds through the hills into the plain of Chappar. It has a good volume of water, and is crown property. A mill occurred at the spot where we crossed it, where we sat a moment or two under some magnificent weeping-willows. The banks of the rivulet were plentifully fringed with odorous púdina, or mint, in great luxuriance of growth. About half a mile from this spot we came upon a collection of scattered houses, called Káréz Gárání. Here was some cultivation, and many groups of mulberry and apricot-trees, but nothing that could be termed a garden; neither could the houses be termed a village, as they were generally in ruins, and untenanted. Here were many detached búngáis, or black-tented abodes, and north of the cultivation a pretty large tomân—a term applied to an assemblage of búngáis. Water was abundant. We rested awhile under the shade of some noble

mulberry-trees, near some ruined houses, where we found a Baloch family. The females were pretty and civil, and readily consented to prepare bread for us, Gúl Máhoméd thoughtfully having brought flour from Kalât. A question arose as to what was to be eaten with the bread, Gúl Máhoméd taking care to represent that I was too important a personage to put up with bread alone. The males of the family denied having any gallús, or melons; but the females made signs to us, that they would bring some when the surly fellows went away. The bread, excellently cooked, was brought us, with roghan, or clarified butter; but the men sitting with us during our repast, our fair hostesses had not the opportunity of testifying their complaisance by the production of melons. After we had finished our meal the men left us to repose, and alike to take their accustomed mid-day nap.

We took our leave, and proceeded over a bleak ascending plain, until we entered some low hills, among which our road was to lead until we reached the plain of Mangarchar. We found no water on our road, but on one occasion a foot-path to our left conducted, as Gúl Máhoméd informed me, to a spring of water. We were not, however, left to suffer from thirst. A shepherd, crossing our track with his flock, liberally supplied us with buttermilk. Gúl Máhoméd, who was in years, did not always move so quickly as I did, and was frequently some distance behind. This was the case when in



progress this day I had gained the summit of a small eminence, from which observing a Baloch coming towards me, I halted. The good man arrived, and at once saw that I was a stranger. He rudely put two or three questions; one of which was whether I was alone; my answers were unintelligible to him, and he was evidently considering the possibility of taking the liberty with me, that nearly every barbarian of these countries thinks justifiable with the unprotected stranger,—to appropriate his property. He had only a stout stick, and I had a similar weapon—a present from Captain Willock—and a sprig from a tree at Waterloo. I was therefore at ease, in event of attack, for if I had even the worst of it I had only to direct the fellow's attention to Gúl Máhomed, slowly creeping along in the rear, and he must have desisted or decamped. I believe he had brought his courage to the determination of assault, when catching a glance of my companion, he instantly seated himself on the ground, being uncertain whether I had a friend, or he a partner in the spoil. I also seated myself. Gúl Máhomed joined; and leaving him to reply to his countryman's queries, I again sauntered on my way. These hills were generally low, and covered with soil. A few stunted trees were sometimes seen on the higher ones, which were probably glawens, a variety of mastich, common on the Balochistân hills, also on the Persian hills, between Persepolis and Yezdikhâst, where it is called baní.

Fine porcelain earth was abundant at one spot. At sunset we cleared them, and entered the plain of Mangarchar. Here we fell into the high road from Kalát to Mastúg and Sháll, which, during the entire day we had to our right, separated from us by hills. Gúl Máhoméd represented it as perfectly level, leading up a valley marked by parallel hill ranges, but deficient in water. We made for the nearest tomán; before reaching which we came to a pool of rain-water. As soon as the Baloches saw strangers approaching they spread carpets without their tents. We were civilly received, and towards night furnished with a supper of good bread and roghan. I was very weary, having left Kalát purposely on foot, that I might benefit fully from exercise. Our hosts were of the Langhow tribe, and are poor, subsisting chiefly on the profit derived from the hire of their camels, which they let out to the merchants. The plain of Mangarchar had a very bleak desolate appearance. A few houses and trees were, indeed, seen in solitary spots, but it was everywhere intersected by bands, or mounds, intended to detain rain-water for the purposes of irrigation. The tománs of the Baloch tribes who inhabit it were everywhere dispersed over it. Many of these were on the skirts and acclivities of the surrounding hills, and from their black forbidding aspect rather increased than dispelled the gloom of the sterile landscape.

We thence proceeded to a spot called Ambár,

where we found two or three mud houses, and some mulberry-trees. Here also was abundance of water in canals, and a large cultivation of aspút. This was decidedly the most fertile part of Mangarchar. Hence we struck across the plain north, towards a prominent tappa, or mound, passing in progress thereto, through the division called Mandé Hájí, having to our left, or west, that called Kúr. From Kúr leads a road to Núshkí. Bounding Mangarchar to the east was a high hill, named Kóhí Márán. On reaching the tappa we found it, as well as its environs, strewn with fragments of pottery. We thence made for a tomán a little to the east of it, where resided some relations of Gúl Máhomed. As soon as we were near enough to descry the actions of the inmates of the búnghís, we observed them busy in sweeping and arranging their carpets, they having noticed strangers approaching, and having, probably, recognised my companion. We were most civilly welcomed, and a cake was produced that we might break our fast. We had brought rice with us from Kalát, which was here prepared for our repast.

On taking leave towards evening our host, Fatí Máhomed, a respectable aged man, kissed my hands and craved my blessing, remarking, that visitors of my importance were rare. He also entreated me to pay a visit to a tomán on our road, where a young man was lying, who had been wounded in the hand some days before by a musket ball,



and who was in danger from a hemorrhage. We accordingly went to the tomán; and I was so fortunate as to stay the hemorrhage by the application of cold water, cobwebs, and pressure. I was not aware to whom these tents belonged, but subsequently discovered, at a time, and in a manner so remarkable, as to merit notice, if but to do justice to Bráhuí gratitude. After the surrender of Kalât to the insurgents, in 1840, when Lieutenant Loveday and myself were made prisoners and taken to the Mírí, on being led through the apartments preceding the Deriáh Khâna, some forty or fifty swords were drawn upon us, a man threw himself between me and the assailants, and, had matters been pushed to extremity, would probably have preserved me. I found it was Máha Singh, the Langhow chief, and that it was at his tent that I was successful, as here noted; a circumstance which he reminded me of, and said, that he recognized me;—I did not recollect him. Between these two tománs we passed a good garden, the only one on the plain, belonging to Dhai Bíbú, the dhai, or nurse of the Khân of Kalât in his infancy, an ancient lady, now famed for wealth and liberality, and formerly as much so for personal beauty and political influence. This garden stands in the division called Zard, the most northern portion of the plain of Mangarchar. At some distance beyond it we passed another ancient tappa, and around it was much cultivation. We finally reached the



dwelling of a Hindú, an acquaintance of my companion, where we halted for the night. East of us were the ruins of the village called Zard, which was represented as having been flourishing but two years since, when Meháb Khân, with an army, encamped at it. The presence of a protecting or invading force is equally noxious to the unfortunate inhabitants of these countries. The Hindú, our host, was the only remaining evidence of the population of Zard. This poor fellow supplied us with clothing for the night, and with a supper of bread and milk. Gúl Máhoméd here learned that two of his sons had brought their camels to Mangarchar this day for the sake of grazing, and he sent to them, desiring that one of them would join him with a camel. The elder came, and after saluting his father, returned, it being fixed that the younger one was to attend in the morning with a camel.

Being about to take leave of our Hindú, I directed Gúl Máhoméd to make him a trifling acknowledgment for the night's entertainment, when it proved that he had intended his hospitable offices to have been gratuitous. He now, as if determined not to be surpassed in generosity, immediately ordered his wife to heat the oven, and would not allow us to depart until we had breakfasted, setting promptly before us cakes of bread, buttermilk, apples, and dried mulberries. Gúl Máhoméd's younger son had arrived with a camel; and a seat

on the animal's back was arranged for me. We traversed the plain northward for about six miles, when we reached Kénittí, a village now of only fifteen inhabited houses, but with many more untenanted ones. Its ruin, as that of Zard, was attributed to the presence of the khán's army. Between it and Zard are no habitations; water is found in two or three places, and there is a water-course in the centre of the valley, supplied with running, but brackish water, the soil being charged with nitre, and covered with dwarf tamarisk-bushes in some places. At Kénittí were some mulberry and apricot trees: and it is the southern division, in this direction, of the district of Mastúg. A little after passing Zard, Gúl Máhoméd abruptly left the path. I asked where he was going, and he replied, to the graves of his forefathers. On reaching the burial place, he stood at the heads of many of the graves, and with his hands upraised to heaven, repeated short prayers, afterwards replacing very carefully any stones which might have rolled from their original position. We did not halt at Kénittí, but kept on our course up the plain, having on our left the water-course just mentioned, whose bed widened, and became overspread with tamarisk-bushes. We at length entered the hills on our right, by an opening formed by the dry and stony bed of a hill torrent, up which we proceeded for a long distance, or until we reached the core of the hills. They displayed every variety

of contorted stratification, and were composed of thin layers, connected by intervening lines of cement. The plain we left was open to the front, or north, and would have conducted us to Khânak, but our object being first to gain Mastûng, the route we now followed was the more direct one. In the dara the common fragrant plants of the country abounded, and the contrast of their red and blue blossoms gave a most pleasing effect, as they occurred in masses or beds. The only trees were ghwens. As our progress up the dara had been continually on a gradual ascent, our transit to the crest of the hill was speedily, and without much toil, accomplished; indeed, I had not been obliged to dismount the camel, though I did so on seeing the very long and steep descent before me; and I sat for some time to enjoy the prospect around. The view was very fine of the surrounding hills; beyond which little else could be seen. Mid-way down the pass, we arrived at a spring of water, where there is a table-space sufficient for a large encampment. It is called Ab Chotoh, as the hills themselves are called Koh Chotoh. On reaching the bottom of the pass, the lower hills were formed of excellent yellow ochre, and small square smooth clinkers thereof were spread about in all directions, and for some distance over the swelling plain at their foot, as if on the elevation of the hills above the surface their superior strata had burst, and been dispersed in fragments. We were now



in the northern extremity of the plain of Khad, which stretches from Mangarchar to Mastúg, and lies on the high road from Kalát. It is a long narrow valley, without village or houses, and the hills to the east are remarkable for the smooth and sloping surface they present towards the plain. In front we observed two or three trees, indicative of our approach to Mastúg, but neither it or its gardens were visible. We had contemplated to have spent the evening at the town, but towards sunset the sky became obscured with clouds, and much rain fell. My companions sought shelter in a ravine, which in reality afforded none; nor could I induce them to proceed. Thus we passed the night here, exposed freely to the rain, which at intervals fell smartly. Gúl Máhoméd and his son kindled a fire, which engrossed all their attention to keep alive. Its flame occasioned the arrival of two men, natives of Khárân, and they also remained with us the night. I seated myself under a canopy, formed by my Arab cloak, the threads of which swelling, when fully saturated, admirably resisted the rain; yet I was cold and comfortless.

In the morning I found that Mastúg was not above two miles distant; also that there were dwellings about half a mile in advance of the ravine. I could not forbear secretly deprecating the bad taste of my companions. We presently arrived at a rivulet, flowing amid high banks, and called Sir-í-âb, which we twice crossed in a short space.



Hence we had an indistinct view of Mastúg, in our progress to which we passed the village of Khwoja Khél, and a large burial-ground. My friends at Kalât had directed Gúl Máhoméd to conduct me to the house of Shádí Khân Mír-wârí, one of the most respectable men of the place. We were met accidentally by his son, Illaiyár Khân, who took the string of the camel, and acted as guide to his father's residence. We were well accommodated in a small garden-house; excellent musk and water-melons were instantly set before us, and, shortly after, a more substantial repast of bread and krút. Our host, Shádí Khân, a plain elderly man, made his appearance. He was suffering from fever, but kindly welcomed us. Here was a relative of Shádí Khân, who had been wounded in the foot by a musket-ball, in the same fray which had caused a similar accident to my patient at Mangarchar. The quarrel arose on the subject of a quantity of aspúst. When I expressed surprise that blood should have been shed on so trivial a matter, and that the governor of the town had not interfered to prevent it, I was told that it was the Baloch mode of adjusting controversy, and that the governor had headed one of the belligerent parties, both being people of the town. The poor fellow at Mangarchar was a stranger, of another tribe, and in nowise concerned in the issue of the contest. Chance made him a mímán, or guest, at Mastúg, at the time of dis-

pute; and the same barbarous custom which dictated an appeal to arms, as imperiously compelled him to espouse the cause of his host. In the afternoon I visited the gardens of the town, many of which are sunk two or three feet beneath the surface, the abstracted soil having probably been used in the construction of the town buildings.



MASTUNG.

I also inspected two ancient Mâhomedan sepulchres, eastward of the town. These were built of kiln-burnt bricks; and although injured by time, had still a picturesque appearance. The larger and more perfect is said to be the tomb of Khwoja Ibrâhîm, and the interior of its walls is covered with scrawls, in Persian and Hindú characters, mementos of those whose curiosity or

piety may have led them within the hallowed precincts.

The next morning I repaired to an eminence south of the town, and made a sketch of it and of the mountain Chehel Tan. Afterwards I moved to an old tower on another eminence, from which I took bearings, and made my observations on the plain, and on the objects in sight. Returning to our quarters, we breakfasted on bread and cham-mari, a dish made by boiling dried apricots to a consistence with roghan, seasoned with spices; it is at once grateful and sanative. Afterwards we prepared for departure to Khának, where resided the family of Gúl Máhomed, he being anxious to join them, and I equally so to accelerate my visit to Chehel Tan. On inquiry for Shádí Khán, that farewell might be taken of him, we were told that he was sitting at the town gate. This was on our road; and, on reaching it, the good man started as if surprised. He took my stick from me, saying, "Where are you going? I supposed you would have remained with me some days; you have not become troublesome. I was going to kill a sheep on your account in the evening." Gúl Máhomed, whose desire to see his family predominated, replied negatively to all Shádí Khán's entreaties, and we were reluctantly permitted to proceed.

From Mastúng the plain gently slopes, and we passed the village of Mírghar, a few hundred yards

east of which is an enclosed mud house, with dependent garden, where resides Máhoméd Khân, chief of the Shirwâní tribe of Bráhuís. This man, by the murder of Lieutenant Loveday's múnshí, and a party of twenty-five or thirty sipáhis, struck the first blow in the Bráhuí rebellion of 1840, and near this very spot. The political agent at Quetta told me, that he considered there were extenuating circumstances in the conduct of Máhoméd Khân, as, having been appointed Naib of His Majesty, Sháh Sújah-al-Múlkh, the múnshí should have treated him with more respect.

Beyond is crossed a deep ravine, with running water, but brackish, from which the plain again ascends towards Tírí. The soil now becomes sandy. Beyond Tírí, to the north and east, is a good deal of pure sand, as there is towards Feringabád, a village north of Mastúng; also on the skirts of the hills east of Mastúng. Tírí is a walled town with two gates, and although inferior in importance to Mastúng, stands on nearly as much ground. Its gardens are numerous, and its fruits plentiful. From Tírí we passed on to Shékh Langhow, a small village, so called from a zíarat of that name contiguous; it is pleasantly situated in a ravine, with numerous gardens and poplar-trees. Adjacent to this village was a small tomán, where resided a daughter of Gúl Máhoméd, the wife of one Sáhíb Khân; thither we repaired, and became guests for the day.



We should have started early this morning for Khânak, about three miles distant, but Sâhib Khân was urgent that we should remain until evening, when we proceeded; and the plain descending, we arrived, about mid-way, at the small enclosed hamlet of Shamé Zai, at the entrance of the plain of Khânak. Thence we made for the tomân, where dwelt my companion. We were most courteously received by his wife, Máhí Bibí. About two miles south was the village of Khânak, seated on and around a large mound. About half a mile to our north was the isolated residence of Assad Khân, the Sirdár of Sahárawân, at this time absent, having joined the Khân of Kalât's camp, at Soh-ráb. I purchased a sheep, as a kairát, or offering, on our prosperous arrival; on which we regaled ourselves, besides making a distribution to our neighbours. I was now at the base of Chehel Tan, which I longed to ascend, anticipating a splendid view of the surrounding regions. However, for some days the heat of the weather was intense, and the atmosphere was so obscured by clouds of dust and a kind of haze that neither the mountain nor surrounding villages were visible. I suffered extremely from the heat. The journey from Kalât had been favourable to my health, which again failed me when obliged to be inactive. The tomân in which I resided was a large one of some fifty búnghís, or black tents, and the people were generally in easy cir-

cumstances. There were few búnghís before which were not picketed one, two, or three horses. The flocks belonging to the tomân had been sent, about a month before, to Kachí, whither they would be followed by the tomân in the course of another month; the winter being spent in that province. I soon became on familiar terms with most of the good folks here, and had I been well, and the weather less warm, could have passed my time very agreeably. A wedding took place, and I was invited to the marriage feast. The men, as generally with the Bráhúís, were not remarkable for personal appearance, but many of the females were very pretty. The weather having at length cleared up, I grew impatient to ascend the hill. The peril of the journey was set forth, unless in good company. We therefore purchased a sheep, and with the view of procuring companions, circulated intelligence of our being about to undertake a pilgrimage to the zíarat on the crest of Chehel Tan. Gúl Máhommed had three of his sons, who with himself, were well-armed. The apprehension was said to be from Khâkas, who frequently visit the hill on fowling and hunting parties, as well as to wreak their vengeance on the Bráhúís, with whom they are at deadly enmity.

The morning appointed for starting we were joined by five young men, leading a goat as an offering to the Chehel Tan saints. Passing the residence

of Máhoméd Khân, we made for the hill, and came to a small brook of clear water, running across our path, with a little chaman, or grass-land, on its borders. The spot is the usual halting-place for laden kâfilas going from Shâll to Mastúng, and the rivulet itself divides the district of Khânak from that called Dolái. The usual road which parties follow going to Chehel Tan leads for some distance along the skirts of the hill and up the open valley of Dolái. We had not proceeded far from the brook, when one of the party proposed to ascend the hill at once, by a very direct and easy path, with which he was acquainted. Some debate followed, which ended in the proposer carrying his point, and we followed his footsteps as our guide. We soon found the passage more difficult than he had represented, and Gúl Máhoméd, an aged man, expressed much dissatisfaction. We were mostly obliged to creep along, while the ascent was so nearly perpendicular that we were frequently compelled to halt and recover breath. We had toiled on in this manner a good part of the day, amid a series of imprecations, our guide only in temper, and assuring us at every step that the worst of our road was over, when a most appalling perpendicular escarpment of rock presented itself. The impulse of necessity enabled us to surmount it, and we found ourselves on a large table-space. The guide now took credit to him-

self; and, joyful to have got over our difficulties, we forgot them, and did not dispute his claims. Some distance brought us to a spot where was a large apúr, or juniper cedar-tree, and a well of ill-coloured but palatable water. This was the usual halting-place for parties proceeding to the summit, and we arranged to pass the night at it. The tree was covered with rags and tatters, and around its trunk stones were placed, defining a masjít. The well was a hole, or recess, at the extremity of a sloping kind of dell, the margins of which were covered with wild white rose-trees; some few of these were in blossom, but the greater part sparkled with their scarlet hips. Here was also an abundance of fragrant mint. Fires were speedily kindled, the apúr, now plentiful on the upper hills, affording excellent fuel. Two enormous heaps were put in blaze; the sheep we had brought was sacrificed, and the entire joints, through which ramrods were inserted and served for spits, were placed between the two masses of living embers. It was delightful to witness how promptly and how perfectly the meat was roasted. Each person received his share, determined, according to Bráhúí fashion, by lot. Bread was cooked by rolling an oval stone, previously heated, in a piece of dough, which was also placed between the embers until ready. The repast, to my taste, was admirable, and I understood how justly the Baloches were proverbially famed for their kabábs,



or roast meat; besides, the fatigue of the day's journey had given me an appetite to which I had been long a stranger. At the fall of night some of our party repaired to a pinnacle in our front, where they kindled a prodigious fire, for the purpose of letting their friends at Khânak know that they had travelled thus far on their pilgrimage.

At daybreak next day we moved on, to gain the summit of the principal peak, on which stands the *zíarat*; and the goat was led with us as a sacrifice on the spot. Our route was very difficult, chiefly over smooth surfaces of rock. I could not remark on the awkwardness of the path, as I was informed, that last year the mother of Assad Khân had ascended by it. On arrival at a certain spot our party disencumbered themselves of their upper garments and their shoes, which, with their weapons, they deposited in a heap. I, of course, foreboded a terrific passage in front. In fact, a little farther commenced the ascent of the peak: it was nearly perpendicular, and over a limestone rock, frequently as smooth as if the surface had been artificially polished; but it was overhung on the left by another rock of more uneven nature, of which availing ourselves we were able to arrange our feet, creeping cautiously under it. On attaining the summit we found a small table-space, in a corner of which was the *zíarat*, marked by a rude enclosure of stones, and a few slender poles, with rags hanging loosely on them. On one of these, higher than the rest, a bell

was affixed, which tinkled when agitated by the wind. On taking out my compass, I discovered that my companions were averse to give information; even Gúl Máhoméd, who was otherwise willing, was diffident, seeing the discontent of the rest. The day was not a happy one for survey, the sky being somewhat hazy, particularly to the east. I could not discern the plain of Kachí, if it is to be seen at all from this point, and but dimly beheld the summits of Nágow and Bohár, conspicuous crests in the hills to the west of Kachí. Koh Toba, with its huge rounded summit was eminent in front, but closed the prospect to the north. South of it were two ranges, running east and west, and intervening between it and the valley of Sháll, which lay in miniature below us. To the east we had a fine view of the Dasht-bí-Dowlat, extending from the base of Chehel Tan, and beyond it of the jumble of hills stretching to Dádar. In a line with us was a range lying east and west, denoting, I presumed, the course of the Bolan river, and remarkable, as all the other ranges to the east, north, and south of it run from north to south. Indeed, I observed that the mass of hills dividing Kachí from Kalát was formed of three distinct parallel ranges. The more elevated and distant range north of the course of the Bolan, I was told, was called Koh Dohjí, and that it was in the Khâka country. South of us were the districts of Mastúng; but the state of the atmosphere did not allow us to recognize Kalát.

To the west the prospect was more extensive, and the horizon clearer. We had in view the plains of Khânak, Dolái, and Sher-rúd, with the hill range of Khwoja Amrân dividing the spacious valley of Peshing from Shoráwak and Búldak. South-west was a high peak, which was conjectured to be that of a hill in Khárân, which boasts, like Chehel Tan, its zíarat; and my companions said, that had the day been propitious, I might have seen a confused dark mass in the north-west, which they inferred must designate Kándahár. I took a few bearings, when my friends proposed to return; nor could I induce them to remain: apprehension of Khâkas was alleged, but I saw clearly that a panic had seized them on sight of my instruments. They conceived that they had been accessory to high treason against the khân, that my looking over his country was equivalent to the putting it into my pocket. Gúl Máhoméd, noting their murmurs, said it was "Húkam níst," or contrary to orders, to remain long upon the summit of the hill. The goat had been brought under the notion of making a repast here; it was indeed killed, but it was decided that it should be cooked at the halting-place below. The men descending, I had no alternative but to follow them. Moreover, Gúl Máhoméd had become very careless in his replies to my queries, and I ceased to make any lest he might mislead me. Each person had raised a small pyramid of stones in commemoration of his visit; and I being otherwise engaged, Gúl Máhoméd



had erected one for me. They were frail mementos, as it was necessary to appropriate the piles formed by former visitors, and succeeding ones would take the same liberty with ours. On the very summit of the hill was the wild rose. In descending we were forced to be as cautious as in our ascent, and I found the better plan was to lie on my back, and, as it were, slide down. On regaining the halting-place a repast was hastily prepared; and it was determined, against the pleasure of Gúl Máhoméd and myself, to reach Khânak that evening. The former, however, persisted in following what may be called the high road, much to the discontent of the younger Bráhuís, who were willing to have returned by the road they came. Our course led north, over an uneven table-space with a constant but gradual descent. The rock was generally bare, and we came upon a spot, where I found shells and corals embedded in it. The rock was grey limestone, of polished surface, and so transparent as nearly to approach to marble. The shells were marine, of four varieties, and at once recognizable as identical with those now to be picked up on the sea-coast of Mekrân. The coral was as clearly the white coral, whose fragments strew the same coast, and which occurs so abundantly in beds on the opposite, or Arabian coast. The outlines of the petrifications were beautifully defined by minute crystallizations. After traversing a long distance we made an abrupt descent of some length; but labour had been bestowed



on the road. Here our five friends quitted us, resolved to take a shorter road, as well as to fall in with fig-trees, said to occur in number. I had now with me Gúl Máhomed and his three sons. From the foot of the pass we had to pace along another unequal space, more cut by ravines and water-courses in the rock. In one mountain glen were immense fragments of rock; in it we discovered two or three fig-trees, and gathered the fruits, which were very palatable. Water, in cavities, presented itself in two or three spots, but was unavailable, from the masses of putrescent vegetable substances fallen into it. The tract we were tracing led into a broad gravelly water-course, on the opposite side of which was a steep earthy hill.

We had nearly gained the water-course when Gúl Máhomed heard a stone roll down the high hill, and as his imagination was full of Khâkas, he apprehended it might be a nishân, or signal. He accordingly, with his sons, adjusted their weapons, and moved on quickly. I for the time felt troubled with the thought that it might happen that the good old man and his three sons should be cut off in contributing to my gratification. However, I made no remark, as it was useless, and we reached the edge of the water-course, which was very deep and wide beneath us. My companions descried something on the opposite hill, and two of Gúl Máhomed's sons kneeling, levelled their pieces, and asked their father if they should fire.

He replied in the affirmative, and they discharged their pieces. Immediately after they all dropped on the ground, expecting, as I thought, a volley in return, for I supposed they had been firing at some unfortunate Khâkas. They then proceeded a little way with their bodies bent and their arms trailed, when, observing they did not reload, I asked why they did not do so, and discovered that the object of their attention was a mountain ram. We now descended into the bed of the water-course, which we traced westerly until it narrowed and led through perpendicular walls of rock of great height. There were many small orifices, the green slimy stains from which seemed to show that water had oozed and trickled from them. This sombre defile was of some length, and from it we emerged, to our joy, upon the plain of Dolái. It had now become dark. Our road led southerly to Khânak. The plain which we trod lightly was overspread with terk, as evident by the perfumed night-air. We passed a pálléz, or melon-ground. The fruits were not ripe, but we found numbers of them gathered and placed in heaps, as we afterwards learned by our friends who had preceded us, and who had arrived here by daylight. This they had done for our benefit, concluding that we should not reach before night, and that we should be thirsty. We finally arrived at Khânak, in a state that made repose desirable.

Chehel Tan abounds with objects interesting to the naturalist. Among the animals that range its

sides are the wild sheep and peshkoza. Among its plants are three or four varieties of ferula: the largest, called ashúk, yields a gum-resin, possibly the opoponax, or, as called in Persian, joáshír. The mashmúk is a large thorny bush with minute leaves, and produces a very pure gum, which might be collected in quantity, but is neglected. The síáh-chob is alike a good-sized bush, and in the hills north of Kâbal yields shírkhist, or manna. The ghwen is a variety of the mastich-tree; it produces a waxy resinous gum, and has berries, which besides being eaten, furnish, by expression, a bland oil. The apúrs, or juniper cedar-tree, is abundant, and valuable, being used both as timber and fuel. Its berries are also esteemed as medicines, and are sent to Hindústân. The gradations in the altitude and temperature of this mountain, are well marked by the zones of its various vegetable products. In the lower region we observe the pink, the tulip, several varieties of thistle,—one of them what we style in England the American globe-thistle,—and the several varieties of ferula. Above this the ferulas and thistles continue, but we find the ghwen and fig-tree. In a still higher altitude the ghwen disappears, and we meet with the mashmúk, síáh-chob, and apúrs. When the mashmúk and síáh-chob fail, the apúrs and wild-rose continue, to the very summit of the mountain. The ferula ashúk also prevails to a high elevation. We did not visit the hill at the best season to behold its natural



beauties. They would, of course, be better displayed in the vernal months. The Bráhúís, enthusiastic in their admiration of Chehel Tan, and its botanical treasures, imagine that the clove-tree, and the mysterious kímía-plant, are natives of its sides, while they relate a thousand tales, which their credulity induces them to credit.

The highest hill in this neighbourhood, Chehel Tan, possesses a very considerable elevation above the plain, as that must be four or five thousand feet above the level of the sea. Yet I dare not conjecture on its height. It takes a long July's day to ascend it. Snow does not remain on its summit beyond June, or the beginning of July, but is always to be found near it in the secluded cavities of the ravines, which break its eastern side. Opposite to the principal peak is another, of somewhat lower altitude, whose southern side displays every variety of coloured soil or rock. The view from Chehel Tan is vast and magnificent; and it stands preëminent as a station for ascertaining the disposition of the country around to the extent of one hundred miles. This part of the world offers many facilities for its survey on a grand scale, in the convenient sites of its principal hills, and of their peaks. North Koh Toba must command the major part of the country between it and the valley of the Tarnak. From any of the peaks conspicuous in the range bounding Kachí to the west, as Naghow, Bohar, or Tirkáí, a complete view of the great plain of



Kachí, extending southward to Shikárpúr, would be gained; also of the Súlímân range, dividing it from Hárând, Dájil, and the valley of the Indus. In the province of Khárân, a little west by south of Kalât, is a very high hill, terminating in a peak, which is plainly descried from Chehel Tan, from which an extensive view would be obtained of the countries between Jhálawân and Panjghúr. From the high hills of Sohráb south of Kalât, good notions could be gained of the province of Jhálawân. Due west of the peak of Chehel Tan is a prominent crest, in the range Khwoja Amrán, which would give an admirable view of the plain of Shoráwak, Núshkí, and the great desert spreading to Sístân. From the peak of Kótal Kózhák, of the same range, the features of the country about Kândahár could be correctly ascertained. I had fondly hoped from Chehel Tan to have caught a glimpse of the crest of Takht Súlímân, a mountain west of the Indus, in the parallel of Déra Ismael Khân, but besides that the view in that quarter was obstructed by clouds, it is probable that Koh Dohjí would intercept it.

The zíárat on the crest of Chehel Tan is one of great veneration among the Bráhuí tribes, and I may be excused, perhaps, for preserving what they relate as to its history. In doing so I need not caution my readers that it is unnecessary to yield the same implicit belief to the legend as these rude people do, who indeed never question its

truth. A frugal pair, who had been many years united in wedlock, had to regret that their union was unblessed by offspring. The afflicted wife repaired to a neighbouring holy man, and besought him to confer his benediction, that she might become fruitful. The sage rebuked her, affirming, that he had not the power to grant what heaven had denied. His son, afterwards the famed Hazrat Ghous, exclaimed, that he felt convinced that he could satisfy the wife; and casting forty pebbles into her lap, breathed a prayer over her and dismissed her. In process of time she was delivered of forty babes, rather more than she wished, or knew how to provide for. In despair at the overflowing bounty of superior powers, the husband exposed all the babes but one, on the heights of Chehel Tan. Afterwards, touched by remorse, he sped his way to the hill, with the idea of collecting their bones and of interring them. To his surprise, he beheld them all living, and gamboling amongst the trees and rocks. He returned, and told his wife the wondrous tale, who now anxious to reclaim them, suggested, that in the morning he should carry the babe they had preserved with him, and by showing him induce the return of his brethren. He did so, and placed the child on the ground to allure them. They came, but carried it off to the inaccessible haunts of the hill. The Bráhuís believe that the forty babes, yet in their infantile state, rove about the mysterious hill. Hazrat Ghous has left behind

him a great fame, and is particularly revered as the patron saint of children. Many are the holidays observed by them to his honour, both in Balochistân and Sind. In the latter country the eleventh day of every month is especially devoted as a juvenile festival, in commemoration of Hazrat Ghous. There are many zîárats called Chehel Tan in various parts. Kâbal has one near Argandí. I made a farther stay of many days at Khânak, in deference to the wishes of Gúl Máhomed, who had arrangements to make in his family, about to proceed to Kachí. My abode was unpleasant from the heat of the weather, and I heard the announcement of my friend that he was prepared to return to Kalât with much pleasure.

## CHAPTER V.

Departure from Khânak.—Spin Bolendî.—Kénittî.—Brâhûî custom.—Mangarchar.—Kârez.—Tomân.—Credulity.—Ancient dams.—Chappar.—Zîarat.—Arrival at Kalât.—Dîn Mâhomed Khân—his pursuits—his amusing anger—his request.—Shâhzâda Hâji Fîrozdîn—his boasting.—Reception at Kândahâr.—His fate.—Khân of Kalât's conversations—his judgment of me.—Of Feringhî power.—Abdul Rahmân's story.—Fatality at Kalât.—Dhai Bibû.—Entertainment.—Visit to Dhai Bibû.—Her wishes.—Indulgence in opium.—Laudanum.—Arrival of Mehrâb Khân.—Approach of winter.—Prepare to leave Kalât.—Kalât.—Mîrî.—Bazar.—Suburbs.—Neighbourhood.—Royal sepulchres.—Inhabitants.—Eastern Balochistân.—Parallel.—Nassîr Khân—his prosperous rule.—Taimûr Shâh.—Mâhmûd Khân.—Zemân Shâh.—Mehrab Khân.—Dâoud Mâhomed.—Disgust of tribes.—Confusion in the country.—Rebellious tribes.—Observance of treaties.—Forbearance of the Kalât Khân.—Their delicate policy.—Enmity of Kândahâr Sirdars.—Disliked by Mehrâb Khân.—Their expedition to Balochistân.—Seize Quetta.—Besiege Mastûng.—Negotiate a treaty.—Terms.—Harand and Dâjil.—Saiyad Mâhomed Shérif.—Replaced by Khodâdâd.—Flies to Bahâwalpûr.—Khodâdâd calls in the Sikhs.—They occupy Harand and Dâjil.—Extent of Mehrâb Khân's rule—his revenue.—Military force.—Khanâzâdas.—Levies.—Artillery.—Subjects.—Brâhûî tribes.—Produce of country.—Of Kachî.—Trade and merchants.—Base coinage.—Mehrab Khân—his character.—Mîr Azem Khân.—Shâh Nawâz and Fatî Khân.—Their treatment.—Mehrab Khân's lenity.

At daybreak we departed, carrying with us the prayers and good wishes of Gûl Mâhomed's family.



We were accompanied as before, by Attár, and were provided with a camel. Our course led south-ernly, leaving Tírí on our left, and having Dinghar, a small village, on our right. We passed a mound, Spín Bolendí, whose formation is attributed to the joint exertions of the army of Nádir. Beyond it we reached a few scattered houses, with a little cultivation, and a good canal of water. Farther on we crossed the high road leading between Mastúng and Núshkí. It was well defined; and at this point was a ruinous ancient tomb, constructed of kiln-burnt bricks. At some distance from it we arrived at a fair chishma, or brook, intersecting the road, and now had entered the division of Kénittí; the hill Chotoh being on our left hand. On our right was the low range bounding Kénittí and Zard, and stretching on to Mangarchar. Our march to-day was long and tedious. At sunset we reached Kénittí, where we passed the night. No supplies were procurable. Gúl Máhomed, being much fatigued, oil was brought him to anoint his weary limbs; which is agreeable to Bráhuí custom.

The next day, on reaching Zard, we struck off to the house of the Hindú who had so civilly entertained us on our first visit. He was not at home. We then proceeded to the mound farther on, at the base of which, we were told, resided two or three Hindús. These had no supplies to give or to sell; and therefore passing the garden of Dhái Bíbú, we entered the plain of Mangarchar. We

here found Gúl Máhoméd's eldest son, in charge of a mare he had brought to graze on aspúst, which is here cultivated in quantity. There was also a káréz of admirable water. The káréz is a subterranean aqueduct, a mode of conveying water common over Persia, Khorasân, and Afghânistân, as far as Kândahár. In Kâbal it prevails in a less degree, and ceases with the hills at Khaibar. In this direction it is not adopted beyond Kalât, and there partially. We had no shelter, but passed the day on the plain, shaded by cloths thrown over long sticks. A meal of bread and curds was provided for us. Towards evening we moved on to the tomân, where we were guests on coming. We were again courteously welcomed by the good Fatí Máhoméd, and a supper was prepared for us of cakes and chammari.

About to start in the morning, a horse was brought from another tomân, that I might write a tavíz, or charm, to hang around its neck, that it might be preserved from disease and sudden death. Its owner said, that he had lost two animals during the last few months. As on coming from Kalât we had traced the eastern divisions of Mangarchar, so now we traversed its western ones. Passing the more northern of these, named Kúr, which has a good chishma, we entered that of Bárétchí Nav. To our right and left were occasionally dams, or artificial mounds; which, if they represent the sepulchral places of ancient villages,

denote that the plain was, at some former period, covered with more substantial seats than the búng'hís of the rude and migratory tribes that now inhabit it. Leaving Mangarchar, our dreary route brought us on the extensive plain of Chappar. No habitation occurred on the road, as a solitary deserted mud dwelling may scarcely be reckoned one. Gúl Máhoméd was, however, willing to have passed the night at it, as it was already dusk, but I objected. We therefore moved on to the small village of Zíárat, which we reached when it was fairly night. There was but one Hindú, and he declined to sell at unseasonable hours. We were, consequently, supperless, but found a snug place to repose in, under the branches of a large tree, with a canal of good water running close by us.

Gentle eminences divide Zíárat from Malarkí; and by a road winding around the low elevations to our right, formed of variously coloured earth, we came in sight of the town, at which we arrived before noon. Without the Mastúng gate I was met by one of my friends, Sâleh Máhoméd, who asked Gúl Máhoméd why he had brought me back so lâghar, or thin. I was cordially welcomed by my old companion Abdúl Wáhad, and learned that my friends Faiz Ahmed and Kâlikdád had gone to Sohráb, to remonstrate with the Khân against a proposed additional tax upon kâfilas.

While I was yet at Kalát our society was increased by the arrival of Dín Máhoméd Khân,



an Alekho Zai Dúrání. He had formerly been in the service of Shâhzâda Kámrán, but a disagreement with the vazír, Yár Máhomed, had obliged him to retire to Sístân, where he had for some time resided; thence he had reached Kalât. He gave me much of his time, and was a fair specimen of the Dúrání gentleman, combining a somewhat refined manner and good-natured sense, with a good deal of simplicity and credulity. He was a desperate kímíaghar, or alchemist; and I was amused to observe how courteously he would address every fáquír, or jogí, he met with. The more unseemly the garb and appearance of the mendicant the greater he thought the chance of his being in possession of the grand secret. He had particular veneration for Hindú jogís. I apprehend his attentions to me were, in part, owing to his idea that, being a Feringhí, I was also an adept in the occult sciences. It grieved me, aware that he was needy, to see him dissipating his scanty funds in silly and unmeaning experiments. On his arrival at Kalât a messenger had been despatched to Kotrú, in Kachí, to bring all the limes that could be procured; some bright idea had flashed across his mind that a decisive result could be obtained from lime-juice. At other times he was seeking for seven-years'-old vinegar. The acrid milky juices of the plants in the neighbourhood were all submitted to trial. Mehráb Khân had sanctioned a trifling daily allowance to him, but



could not afford to give sufficient salary to detain the Khân at Kalât. One morning I met him on his return from an audience at the Mírî. Remarking that he was excited, I asked him what was the matter. He replied by vociferating, in no very delicate terms, how he should be pleased to treat Mehrâb Khân, and his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and hoped that the devil would take Kalât, and the men and the women of Kalât. In a day or two he proceeded towards Haidarabâd, in Sind, where he would meet an old friend in Samandar Khân, Popal Zai. Dîn Máhoméd made two moderate demands of me,—to provide him with a son, and to instruct him in the art of making gold.

A more important visitor this year at Kalât was Shâhzâda Hâjî Fîrôzdîn, a brother of Shâh Máhmûd, and who had governed at Herât, until displaced by the management and address of the Vazír Fatî Khân. He had now arrived from Sind, and was attended merely by a few domestics; some twenty mules carried his baggage. He had not lost the arrogant tone which distinguishes too many of his family, and talked largely to the Khân of Kalât—wanting men—boasting that he would provide money, although, when here, he was obliged to sell a few of his mules. He remained but a few days, and took the road to Kândahâr, the chiefs there having a feeling of sympathy towards him, as he rendered one of the brothers a good

turn, when the Vazír Fatí Khân was seized by Kámrán. They met him without the city, civilly entertained him during his stay, and on his departure westward presented him with a horse, richly caparisoned. We afterwards heard that the ill-fated Shâhzâda was slain in the neighbourhood of Meshed; it was said, through some mistake.

In course of time, Faiz Ahmed and Kâlikdád arrived from Sohrâb, where they had been successful in persuading the khân to relinquish the proposed additional tax on kâfilas. The chief had much conversation with Faiz Ahmed on the impoverished state of the country, who imputed the evil to the increase of vice; instancing, that the masjîts were unfrequented, while wine-drinking and obscene vices, formerly unknown at Kalât, had been introduced. The chief asked how the evil was to be remedied; Faiz Ahmed replied, by appointing mûllas to the masjîts, and by a vigilant watch over the morals of the community. The khân promised, on his return to Kalât to attend to these matters. He also made many inquiries concerning myself, and said I was a jásús, or spy. Faiz Ahmed assured him that I was not, and told him that I had formerly been at Kândahár and Kábal, where I had been received with attention. The khân remarked, that every one would pay attention to Feringhís, because they were zurâbar, or all-powerful, but that, nevertheless, I was a jásús. He also inquired whether I was not a

kímíaghar; and, on Faiz Ahmed replying in the negative, said, that his Akhúnd Abdúl Rahmán had told him I was, and that I had a box (alluding to a small medicine-chest) full of bottles, containing âksír. The khân added, that every Feringhí was a kímíaghar. I asked Faiz Ahmed whether the khân intended to take any notice of me, under his impression that I was a jásús; he said "Oh, no!" I felt that it was immaterial what he might think, if he did not interrupt me.

Kalát this year was very unhealthy, and an intermittent raged, which daily carried off in the town seven or eight persons. It at length reached the Bábí suburb, and we lost two or three persons daily. The disease was so violent that it proved fatal the second or third day, or, failing to do so, entailed a long and lingering disorder. I had a small supply of quinine, which I administered to those who applied for it, and always with success. I did not escape the malady, though I was enabled speedily to overcome it.

As I made it a point never to deceive any one, or to attempt what I knew to be impossible, I had constantly refrained from visiting Dhái Bībú, an ancient lady of the first consideration at Kalát, who wished to be restored to sight. One morning, however, her son, called the Nawáb, having at some period held the government of Hárاند and Dájil, waited on me, followed by many slaves, bringing the component parts of a sumptuous entertainment,



comprising every delicacy procurable at Kalât, and I was informed Dhái Bibú had made me her guest. I sent for Faiz Ahmed, and entreated him to explain to the nawâb, that his mother's attentions pained me, as I felt it was expected I should do, in return, what exceeded my ability. Faiz Ahmed reasoned with the nawâb, and he urged the duty of a son. I was obliged to visit the old lady, whose house was close to the Mírí. She must have once been a very fine woman, and was now nearly seventy years of age. She wished me to accomplish one of two things, to restore her sight, or to free her from the habit of opium eating. She proffered all kind of remuneration, horses, gold, land, &c., and much wished me to come and take up my abode with her. To be collected for my reception, she had refrained from her morning dose of opium, and was very uneasy. She at length became so much so that she called a slave-girl and swallowed a most immoderate complement. Her conversation soon betrayed the effects of it, and I took leave. I sent a little laudanum as a wash for her eyes, for I was obliged to send something, and in two or three days I heard that she fancied she could see a little. I supplied more laudanum, praying her son to continue its application, if the least benefit was derivable from it. This lady's eyes were affected by what is called gúl, or gobár, a thick opaque film obscuring or coating the cornea.

Dhái Bibú was living when the British forces



captured Kalât in 1839. Her daughter, married to Shâhghâssî Nûr Máhoméd, was put by him to the sword, with his other wives and female relatives, when the town was entered. So much disaster, with the fate of Mehráb Khân, upset the little reason she had left, and she sank into the grave.

In course of time Mehráb Khân arrived at Kalât from Sohráb, where he had assembled an army; and conceiving himself secure from any attempt the current year upon Sahárawân by the Afghâns, he decided to despatch it towards Kej, to reduce the rebellious chieftains in that quarter, particularly Rústam Khân Mamasani, and Mohím Khân, Núsh-írwâni. The army marched under the orders of Dáoud Máhoméd, the vazír, and was accompanied by Mír Azem Khân, the khân's young brother.

I did not visit the khân, as a fatality seemed to attend my health, and I had become reduced to extremity by a dysentery. The fall of the leaf had taken place, and winter, with all its rigours, was about to set in. I saw no chance of being able to reach Kándahár the present year, and my disorder had become so serious that I even began to reflect on the event of it. I was glad to hear that Kâlikdád was ready to start on his annual commercial journey to Sind, and I resolved to accompany him, and to regain Súnmiání. Kâlikdád had a large quantity of madder, the produce of Mastúng, and raisins of Kándahár, for sale in Sind and Las. The kâfila, it was decided, should take the route

through the valley of the Múllöh river to Jell, whence tracing the western frontier of Sind, it would reach Karáchí. Kâlikdád did not start with the kâfila, whose route to Jell was tedious and circuitous. He proposed to join it at that place, which he would do in three days from Kalât, by crossing the hills. He wished me to have remained, and to have accompanied him, but I had grown anxious to leave a place where I had been so unlucky as to health, and I decided to proceed with the camels and merchandize, expecting benefit from the exercise and change of air, as well as being desirous of seeing the Múllöh route.

Kalât, the capital of Balochistân, and the residence of the khân, is but a small town, seated on the eastern acclivity of a spur from the hill called Sháh Mirdân. It is in form oblong, and surrounded by a crenated wall of mud, chiefly of moderate height, and strengthened by towers. The western side of the wall traces the summit of the ridge, and is carried under the mirí, or palace of the khân. The last is an edifice of some antiquity, being referred to the period when Kalât was governed by Hindú princes. The town has three gates, one facing the east, and the two others the north and south respectively. It may contain about eight hundred houses, a large proportion inhabited by Hindús. The bazar is equal to the size of the town, and is fairly supplied. Kalât has two suburbs one to the south, inhabited solely by the Bábí tribe of

Afghâns, who fled, or were expelled from the seats of their ancestors, near Kândahâr, in the time of Ahmed Shâh, the first Dûrânî king. The other is to the north-west, inhabited also by Afghân families, but



MIRI, OR CITADEL OF KALAT.

of various tribes, and generally recent emigrations from Kândahâr. These two suburbs may contain together three hundred houses. West of the town stretch ravines, and low barren hills, for a considerable distance. To the east is a cultivated plain, not exceeding a mile in breadth, through which stretches the bed of a mountain stream, without water, unless at certain times when filled by rains. It is bounded by hills of some altitude, called Harbûî, which intervene between it and the great plain of Kachî. Kalât is nearly useless as a place of

defence, being commanded by the hill of Shâh Mirdân, on which Ahmed Shâh, when he besieged it, stationed his artillery, and was only prevented from its capture by the intervention of his officers. Under the hills east of Kalât is the royal place of sepulture; and there are the tombs of Nassîr Khân and Máhmúd Khân, with the cenotaph of Abdúlah Khân, their progenitor. Near this spot is a celebrated spring of water, which principally provides for the irrigation of the plain. The aboriginal inhabitants of Kalât would appear to be the Dêhwârs, equivalent to the Tâjiks of Afghânistân and Tûrkistân; and as with them their vernacular language is Persian, the Bráhuí pastoral tribes, belonging to whom is the reigning family, speak a dialect called Bráhuí, or Kúr Gállí.

The extensive country of Eastern Balochistân, of which Kalât is the capital, is now subject to Meh-râb Khân, the son of Máhmúd Khân, and grandson of the celebrated Nassîr Khân.

There is observable a singular parity of fortune between the Baloch kingdom and the Dúrání empire, to which it acknowledged an easy dependence. Contemporary with Ahmed Shâh, who created the latter, and raised it to prosperity, was Nassîr Khân at Kalât, who was indebted, in great measure, to the Dúrání monarch for his elevation to the Khânât, in detriment of his elder brother, Mohábat Khân, who was deposed. Nassîr Khân was, beyond comparison, the most able chieftain who had governed



Balochistân; and the country under his vigorous rule prospered as it never did before, nor is likely to do again. He extended his arms in every part of Balochistân, and was always successful; and his kingdom grew from a very humble one to be exceedingly extensive. Aware of the turbulent disposition of his tribes, he kept them continually in the field, thus making use of those qualities in them which would have given him annoyance at home, to the increase of his power abroad. The fertile province of Kachí had been recently acquired from the Kalorah rulers of Sind, by a treaty which Nádir Shâh had imposed. Nassír Khân was not without apprehension that its recovery might be attempted; and in order to give his tribes an interest in its occupation, he made a division of the lands, by which all the Bráhuí tribes became proprietors.

To Ahmed Shâh succeeded his son, Taimúr Shâh, who, as is too often the case in these countries, lived on the reputation of his father, and passed his reign in pleasure, or the gratification of his sensual appetites. Coeval with him, at Kalât, was Máhmúd Khân, son of Nassír Khân, precisely under the same circumstances, neglecting his government, and immersed in hésh, or enjoyment. He lost the province of Kej, and his kingdom might have been farther mutilated but for the energies of his half-brothers, Mastapha Khân and Máhoméd Réhim Khân.

To Taimúr Shâh at Kâbal succeeded his son,

Zemân Shâh, whose brief reign was terminated by those convulsions which have wrecked the Dûrânî empire. The present Mehrâb Khân succeeded his father, Máhmúd Khân, and for the first three years of his reign displayed considerable decision. He recovered Kej, and seemed inclined to maintain the integrity of his kingdom ; but a series of internal conspiracies and revolts disgusted him, and led to the execution both of some of his own imprisoned relatives, and of the principals of many of the tribes. At length he lost all confidence in the hereditary officers of state, and selected for minister one Dáoud Máhommed, a Ghiljí of the lowest extraction, and from that time his affairs have gone wholly wrong ; while, by putting himself in opposition, as it were, to the constitution and acknowledged laws of his country, he has provoked a never-ending contest with the tribes, who conceit themselves not bound to obey the dictates of an upstart and alien minister. It hence happens, that some of them are generally in arms ; and the history of the country since the accession of the Ghiljí adviser to power, offers little else but a train of rebellions and murders. It is remarkable, that a similar infraction of the laws of the Dûrânís by Zemân Shâh, viz. the elevation of an unqualified person to the vakâlat, was the primary cause of the misfortunes which befel that king.

Mehrâb Khân seems to have given up the idea of coercing his disaffected clans, and is content

by promoting discord amongst them, to disable them from turning against himself. The country is, therefore, in a sad state of confusion. A few years since, the Marrís, a formidable tribe in the hills east of Kachí, having descended upon the plains, and sacked Mítarí, the Kalât Khân deemed that it behoved him to resent so gross an outrage, and accordingly he marched with an army, said to be of twelve thousand men, against the marauders. They amused him first with one offer, and then with another, until the season for action was passed, when, aware that the khân could not keep his bands together, they defied him, and he was compelled to retire, with the disgrace of having been outwitted. In the reign of Málmúd Khân the gallant Mastapha Khân, as lord of Kach Gandáva, kept these predatory tribes in due order, as he did their neighbours, the Khadjaks, Khâkas, and others. Since his death they have not ceased in their depredations.

While the Dúrání empire preserved a semblance of authority, there was, agreeably to the original treaty concluded between Ahmed Shâh and Nassír Khân, a Baloch force of one thousand men stationed in Káshmír, and the khâns of Kalât had ever been attentive to the observance of their engagements. On the dislocation of the empire, and after Káshmír had been lost, there was, of course, an end to the treaty, and virtually, to dependence. Yet the khâns of Kalât never sought to benefit by the



fall of the paramount government; thus Síví, which was in their power, was always respected. So long even as there was a nominal Sháh in the country, as in the case of Sháh Ayúb, they professed a certain allegiance, but when by the final settlement, or partition of the remnants of the Dúrání empire, it became parcelled into small and separate chiefships, they no longer felt the necessity of acknowledging the supremacy of either. The chiefs of Kándahár the nearest to Kalát, were the only ones who pressed, and Mehráb Khán, since the death of Máhoméd Azem Khán, has had a delicate and difficult part to play with them. It was no principal of his policy to provoke them unnecessarily, and he alike felt repugnance to comply with their demands or to acquiesce in their pretensions. They, on their side, gave him much trouble, by accepting the submission of his rebellious chieftains, as Mohím Khán, Rakshání of Khárân, Rústam Khán, Mamassaní, and others, as well as by granting asylum to traitors, and by fomenting conspiracies within his kingdom. This line of conduct is so irritating to Mehráb Khán, that he has frequently invited Kámrán of Herát to assume the offensive, and promised that if he would send his son, Jehānghír, he would place the Baloch levies under the prince's orders.

The Kalát khán justly looks upon the Kándahár sirdárs as his enemies, and they are by no means favourably disposed towards him, it being very un-



suitable to their views that an untractable and unfriendly chief should hold the country between them and Shikárpúr, so much an object of their ambition. I have noted, that the sirdárs had invaded the Baloch country subsequently to my visit to Kándahár. The motives of the expedition were, perhaps, manifold, but a principal one was, no doubt, to effect some understanding with the khân, and to prepare the way for a march farther south. The Dúrání force, on this occasion, reached Quetta, of which they took possession by a kind of stratagem, avowing friendship, and introducing their soldiers into the town. They next marched to Mastúg, which they besieged, after a manner. The Dúránis could scarcely take the place, and the garrison, trifling as to numbers, could scarcely hold it; whence it followed that an accommodation was easily made, and the proposals of the sirdárs that the place should be evacuated on honourable terms were accepted. The sirdárs maintained, that they had no hostile intentions towards the khân or his subjects, but that they desired friendship with him and them. Mehráb Khân by this time had collected, it is said, twelve thousand men,—which number seems to be the maximum of armaments during his sway,—and encamped at Kénittí, not very distant from the Dúrání camp, and quite close enough that a battle might have been fought, had either party been inclined to have tested the justice of their cause by an appeal to the sword.

Negotiations, as a matter of course, were resorted to, and some kind of treaty was patched up, by which the Dúránís retired without the disgrace of being absolutely foiled. Mehráb Khân paid, or consented to pay, one lákh of rupees, Kalât base money; and professed obedience to the authority of the sirdárs, and willingness to assist in their views upon Sind. It was supposed that the sirdárs would not have ventured to march hostilely into the Baloch territory had they not had in their camp Assad Khân, the sirdár of Sahárawân, and others, who had fled from the vengeance of Mehráb Khân. These traitors returned with them to Kândahár.

Besides these sirdárs of Kândahár, and his own rebel subjects, the unfortunate chief of Kalât has a new and more potential enemy to contend with in Máharájá Ranjit Singh. The more easterly of the khân's provinces are those of Hárاند and Dájil, bordering on, and west of the Indus, between Déra Ghází Khân and the territory of the Mazárí tribes. They constitute a government which confers the title of Nawáb on the holder. The appointment is arbitrary, and emanates from Kalât. Saiyad Máhoméd Sheríf, of Tírí near Mastúng, it is said, by a largess to Dáoud Máhoméd Khân, the Ghiljí minister, had procured the government, with an understanding that he was to hold it for some time, or until he had reimbursed himself, and accumulated a little besides. The saiyad had

scarcely assumed authority, than Dáoud Máhoméd Khân despatched Khodádád, an Afghán, to supersede him. The enraged saiyaḍ crossed the river, and proceeded to Baháwalpúr, where he induced the khân to put forward a force and invade the country.

Khodádád fled in turn, and repaired to the Súbahdár of Múltán, who, on reporting the matter to Lahore, received instructions to reinstate the Khân of Kalât's officers in Hárand and Dájil. Accordingly, the saiyaḍ was again expelled, as were the Baháwalpúr troops, and Khodádád was told that he was governor for Mehráb Khân, but the Síkh troops retained all the posts in the province.

Although Mehráb Khân holds nominal sway over a country of vast extent, and embracing great varieties of climate, he has little real power but in his capital and its vicinity. The immense proportion of the country is held by tribes nearly independent of him, and in subjection only to their own contumacious chiefs, who owe the khân, at the best, but military service. It is true, that in most of the provinces he has zamín sirkári, or crown lands, the revenue of which may be said to belong to him, but it is generally consumed by the agents who collect it. The larger quantum of his resources is drawn from Kach Gandáva, the most productive of his provinces, where he holds the principal towns. I have heard his gross revenue estimated at three lákhs of rupees



per annum, a small sum indeed, but it must be borne in mind that none of the Bráhuí or Baloch tribes contribute to it.

The khân can scarcely be said to retain a military force, but has a great number of khânazâdas, household slaves. These, the only people he can trust, are elevated to high offices, and appointed governors of his towns and provinces. They are, of course, authorized to keep up followers, and their bands form the *élite* of the khân's armies, which are otherwise composed of the levies from the tribes. The general obligation of military service falls alike upon the villagers and upon the déhwárs, or agriculturalists in the neighbourhood of Kalât, who, in case of need, furnish their quotas of men. The khân's artillery comprises some half dozen unserviceable pieces of small ordnance at Kalât, and two or three others at Gandáva, Bâgh, and Quetta,—it may be presumed in no better condition.

The khân's Máhomedan subjects include the Bráhuí tribes of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, the Baloch tribes of the western provinces, the Rind and Magghazzi tribes of Kachí, Hárand, Dájil, &c., the Kássí Afghâns of Sháll, the Déhwárs (equivalent to Tájiks) of Kalât and its villages; to which may be added, the Lúmri, or Jadghâl tribes of the maritime province of Las. It may be noted also, that there are still some few families of the Séwa tribe at Kalât, who, agreeably to tradition, ruled the country before the Bráhuís.



The Bráhuí tribes are pastoral: in the summer grazing their flocks on the table-lands, and in the hills of Sahárawân and Jhálawân, and in winter descending upon the plains of Kach Gandáva.

The country of the Bráhuís produces excellent wheat; but as by far the more considerable part of it can only be cultivated when rain has been abundant, there is no certainty in the supply. The irrigated lands alone probably yield as much as suffices for the population, but at high prices. In seasons after copious rains at the proper period, when the returns become very bountiful, there is a large surplus, and prices are extremely low. A camel-load of wheat has been known to be sold for one rupee.

The low flat province of Kachí has produce of a different kind, wheat being but of partial growth, while júári and bájara are most extensively cultivated. The cotton-plant and sugar-cane are raised near Bâgh and Dádar; and at the latter place indigo is produced and manufactured.

The Baloch provinces have, comparatively, but a trifling trade with the neighbouring states, and society is not in that advanced state amongst the inhabitants as to render them greatly dependent on foreign markets for articles of taste and luxury. There are a large number of Afghân merchants domiciled at Kalât, who drive a considerable transit trade between Sind, Bombay, and Kándahár. The financial necessities of the Kalât rulers have

introduced a base coinage into circulation at the capital—an expedient fatal to the trade and prosperity of the country. The same evil existed at Kándahár when I was there, originating, I was told, with the late Shír Dil Khân, but Fúr Dil Khân was wisely taking measures to remedy it.

Mehráb Khân is a little beyond forty years of age. Boasting an ancestry which has given twenty-two or twenty-three khâns to Kalát and the Brá-húís, he is so illiterate that he can neither read nor write; and it seems his father, Máhmúd Khân, was no better accomplished. Politically severe, distrustful, and incapable, he is not esteemed personally cruel or tyrannical; hence, although he cannot be respected by his subjects, he is not thoroughly detested by them; and in lieu of deprecating his vices they rather lament that he has not more virtues and energy. Neither is he harsh or exacting upon the merchant, whether foreign or domestic. He has four wives, and a son, named Máhoméd Hassan—now a child. He has an only brother, Adam Khân, generally styled Mír Azem Khân, a young man entrusted with delegated command, but exceedingly prone to dissipation. The khân retains as prisoners, or nazzer bands, Shâh Nawáz Khân and Fatí Khân, sons of the late Ahmed Yár Khân, whom he judged necessary to put to death at the commencement of his reign, or a little after, but not until he had fomented four rebellions, and had been thrice forgiven. These youths are under easy restraint, and the khân

takes one of them with him on his journeys, while the other remains at Kalât, in charge of the Dárogah Gúl Máhoméd. The khân, moreover, seats them on his right hand in the darbár, his own son, Máhoméd Hassan, being placed on his left. He has also provided them with wives, or at least the elder, Shâh Nawâz Khân, who has married a daughter of a Khadjak chief. These two young men are the only remaining descendants of Mohâbat Khân, the elder brother of Nassír Khân; on which account, while treated kindly, they are vigilantly guarded. The Ghiljí minister, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân, wished to have involved them in the same destruction with their father, Ahmed Yár Khân, and to have thereby exterminated the line, but Mehráb Khân would not consent.

## CHAPTER VI.

Departure from Kalât.—Takht Bâdshâh.—Múlla Izzat.—Rodinjoh.—Gandarghen.—Rudeness of camel-drivers.—Sohráb.—The Khân's uncle.—Burial-places.—Anjira.—Bopoh.—Sources of the Múllöh river.—Singular stratification.—Goram Bawât.—Shakargaz, or sweet tamarisk.—Péshtar Khân.—Lichens.—Do Dandân.—Janghí Kúshta.—Pír Lákka.—Ghuznaví Háji.—Kíl.—No Lang.—River fords.—Ancient fort.—The Múllöh river.—Pír Chátta.—The Múllöh pass.—Security.—Risk from swollen torrents.—Inhabitants.—Produce.—Considered in military point of view.—Extent.—Jell.—Arrival of Kálikdád.—Kándahár kâfila.—Duties.—Collectors.—Amount.—Frauds of the merchants.—Entertainment.—Polite request.—Town of Jell.—Groves.—Tombs.—Soil and produce.—The Magghassis.—Divisions.—Feud with the Rinds.—Ahmed Khân—his character.—Dissipation.—Jet cultivators.—Túnia.—Sannatar.—Hobáras.—Kâh Shútar.—Sulphurous spring.—Kichí.—Shádía.—Pat.—Apprehensions.—Rinds.—Their excursions.—Composure regained.—Obelisks.—Machúlik.—Déra Ghaibí.—Walí Máhoméd.—The Chándí tribe.—Services to the Tálpúris.—Háji Bijár.—Unreasonable expectations.—Parsimony of the Tálpúris.—Poverty of the Chándís.—Walí Máhoméd's victories.—His aid implored by Ahmed Khân.—His hostility to the Rinds.—Reprimanded by the Nawâb vazír.—Canal.—Absence of Walí Máhoméd.

THE kâfila being ready to start, Kálikdád accompanied me to it, a little without the town. He recommended me generally to the good offices of the camel-drivers, and particularly to the attentions of Yákút, a confidential negro khânazâda, who



was sent in charge of the merchandize. This consisted entirely of madder and raisins. A seat on a camel had been prepared for me, so that I might sit or repose, as I found convenient. The merchandize was the property of Kálíkdád and his partners; and the camels were hired ones. Besides their drivers we had no other company. We proceeded this evening to Takht Bádsháh, a small open spot, amphitheatrically surrounded by hills. On many of the near eminences were conical monuments of stones, possibly sepulchral, as they seemed too laboured to be supposed piles erected by shepherds to occupy and beguile their idle hours. Water was procured from a spring at Koh Chákar, about three furlongs distant, which is not good, being impregnated with some mineral substance. Immediately on our west we had Koh Zoar. Takht Bádsháh implies the king's throne: I could not learn on what account; whether there is any tradition referring to it, or whether any ceremony is performed there on the inauguration of the kháns of Kalát.

We thence proceeded to Rodinjoh, belonging to the sons of Múlla Izzat, a man in his lifetime of some notoriety. He was wont to walk naked about Kalát; and what in some countries would have been deemed a proof of insanity, was here judged undeniable evidence of sanctity and wisdom. From what I was told of his experiments in gold-making, and of his Súfí principles, I apprehend he was

merely a successful impostor. The village of Rodinjoh was given in grant to him, and he built a house and formed a garden; both are now in ruins, and his sons are not distinguishable from the zamíndárs, or cultivators of the village, in appearance or manners.

We next marched to Gandarghen, said to be seven cosses from Rodinjoh, beyond which the plain widens. The road skirting the dry bed of a rúd-khâna, passes Damb, so called from a large mound, and Súrma Sing. About a coss beyond we halted on the bank of the rúd-khâna, in whose bed there is water, but of bad quality. In this march the conductor of my camel drew his sword on me, which I parried with my stick. Kâlikdád, I found, the better to give me a claim on the respect and civility of the camel drivers, had represented me as a Hâji. I did not take the trouble to undeceive them, for I was so unwell that I was indifferent to good or bad treatment. On reaching the halting-place I remarked to my quondam assailant as he assisted me to dismount, that he was a Rústam of a fellow, and he seemed ashamed. Afterwards, although I had to complain of his comrades, I had no reason but to be satisfied with himself. When I spoke to Yákút, Kâlikdád's man, I found he was afraid, for he was one among many.

Our next march was to Sohráb; and we halted at the village of Nigghár, towards the south-eastern

extremity of the plain. To our west were the villages of Dan and Rodaní. The prospect the plain affords, when clothed with its crops, is very agreeable, the several little villages, or hamlets, having their contiguous gardens, while the contrast of the green or ripe wheat with the intense hues of the lucern plots, is striking. In the plain are several dams, or ancient artificial mounds: some extensive ones occur east of Nigghár. The summits of these are crowned with stone parapets, which, although substantial, are modern, and may have been raised as sangars, or breastworks. Here we had to pay a transit-fee of one sennár, or the sixth of a rupee, on each camel-load of goods to Khaira, the máma, or uncle of the khân. He did not take money, averring it would be of no use to him, but received its value in cloth.

The plain ascends a little from Sohráb, and turning a point of the hills on our left, we followed a more easterly course. The road became stony, and was frequently crossed by the dry beds of torrents. At some distance from Sohráb were several graves, or what seemed as such; they might not have been worthy of attention had not their length been from east to west, instead of from north to south, as Máhomedan graves are prescribed to be disposed. The curve, moreover, which in a Máhomedan structure, and on the western side, would denote the kabla, was here found on the eastern side.



Passing amid arid undulating rises, and tracing for some distance the bed of the rúd-khána, where we occasionally found water in cavities, with many oleander bushes, now laden with their long and dark-coloured seed-vessels, we reached Anjíra, halting on the bank of a small rivulet.

The following day, in progress to Bopoh, we followed the course of the rivulet on which we had halted, our direction north-east. A little before reaching Bopoh the rivulet disappeared, winding to the right. On entering a small plain, the small village of Bopoh was to our left, with a few trees at the foot of the hills. In front, about three miles distant, on the same level, we saw the larger village of Gazân, the hills behind which concealed from our view the villages of the superior plain of Zehrí, on which Bopoh and Gazân are dependent. Ghat, the principal village, and abode of Rashíd Khân, sirdár of Jhálawân, was said to be four or five cosses distant. About half a mile from Bopoh we rounded a hill, remarkable for its echo. We then halted, and had to bring our water from some distance from a rivulet which ran into the Múlloh river. This inconvenience arose from our people having selected an injudicious place for halting in.

In the succeeding march we came upon several springs on our right hand, the water gushing copiously from the rock. These may be, perhaps, considered the true sources of the Múlloh river, as they never fail, and from them the stream is always a



continued one. Other rivulets, as those of Sohráb and Anjira, lead into it, but they are only partially supplied with water. Beyond these first springs others occurred on our left hand, of more or less volume, increasing the original current. The dara, or valley, we traversed, was more properly a defile, formed by the bed of the stream, and enclosing rocks. Occasionally it opened out, and we afterwards found that the entire route through the hills was of the same nature. The rocks this day were singular, from their stratification, having a mural formation, and the appearance, conferred by their regular lines of dislocation, of being composed of masonry and brickwork. At one spot was a most curious instance of the rock exhibiting a succession of rimmed cylinders, decreasing in size from the lower, or inferior one.

As the dara opened we had a wider bed for the stream, which separated into two or more channels. Its borders were overspread with tall grass, in clumps, bearing large tufts of white silky flowers. The plants panír-band and hîshwarg were abundant. The next stage was to Goram-bawât. The dara was less confined, and we marched less interrupted by the course of the stream. Towards the close of our journey we passed an open space of some extent, where was a dam of large size, and on an adjacent eminence a conical pyramid of stones. Here was a solitary mud house, and some cultivated land. On our road we had been delighted by the

notes of the búlbúl, the oriental nightingale, and we observed two or three species of trees, indicating our approach to a warmer climate. The oleander was plentiful, and hence continued so. Here was the variety of tamarisk producing the saccharine gum called shakar gaz. This nearly resembles the common variety, except that its flowers are white, in lieu of being red, and its verdure more vivid, although of a paler green. From this tree is also procured quantities of small galls, called sákor. Their properties are astringent, and they are used as mordants in dyeing. It is said, that the sweet gum and the galls are alternately produced.

We had in the next march to cross the stream repeatedly, which implies that the dara was contracted, and compelled us to trace the river bed. At Péshtar Khân, an extensive open spot, there were numerous ghidâns, or matted abodes of the Bráhuís; also some cultivated lands. Wheat, rice, and múng are grown here. The flocks of sheep and goats were numerous. The karíl, or caper-tree, was seen here, with mimosas and bér-trees.

There was a very large burial-place at this spot, too considerable, I fear, to be attributed to the residence of a few Bráhuís, and rather marking the consequences of the sanguinary propensities of man. In the crevices of the rocks abounded a variety of lichen, called mármút. It is used medicinally by the Bráhuís, in diseases of languor

and oppression of the *vis vitæ*. The plant, replete with juice, and extremely bitter and nauseous, is dried, and a quantity of the powder swallowed, after which water is directed to be drank. The same, or an analogous plant, abounds in the Khai-bar hills, and is carried to Pesháwer, where it is largely used as an article of food by Hindús. I found the Bráhuí name for the bér, or jujuba zizyphus, was pissí, the designation of one of our previous halting places, although I did not there observe the tree.

Our next march brought us to Do Dandân, or the two teeth, a term derived from the two peaks of a neighbouring hill. On our road we passed some spots in which the cotton-plant was cultivated. At Do Dandân were many Bráhuí residents.

Next day we moved on to Janghí Kúshta, or the place where a famous robber, named Janghí, is said to have been slain. About a mile before reaching our destination we passed the zíárat of Par Lákhí, in the neighbourhood of which were many inhabitants, if we may infer from the numerous flocks which everywhere grazed upon the hills. The zíárat stands on an elevated site, and adjacent to it is an ample burial-place. The building is embosomed in a grove of bér-trees, and is further graced by the presence of a few date-trees. It is square, with many niches on its respective sides, and is crowned with a cupola. The



whole is covered with cement, and the spot altogether is sufficiently picturesque. I may here observe, that we had been joined by another of Kâlikdád's confidential khânazâdas from Kalât, bringing under his charge a real Hâjí, but old, and perfectly deaf, from Ghazní, who intended to proceed to Mecca, which he had previously several times visited. At Kalât he had been the guest of the Dárogah Gúl Máhomed, who made him over to the charge of Kâlikdád. The old Hâjí had a most sonorous voice, and sang the songs of Háfíz, and others, with resounding effect. He was literate; and I found a companion at tea-time, for the old gentleman believed that tea cleared and improved his voice.

Our intercourse was singular, as he could not hear; but I found in a short time that we could very well understand each other, and that he could comprehend my signs and gestures. My Bráhuí companions still believed me a Hâjí, but could not divine from what country I came. I also was daily improving in health; and becoming stronger, was better able to keep them in order. We then marched to Kíl, where the valley was considerably more spacious than we had hitherto found it. About a mile before it we passed the village of Attárchí, which had many trees and much cultivated land.

From Kíl the dara continued open, and we again passed much land cultivated with the cot-



ton-plant and júár; also beyond it, on a stony barren expanse, large burial-grounds. Our direction was constantly north, and throughout our journey the valley was more or less peopled. We halted at Noh Lang, or the nine fords. Next day our route commenced through a narrow defile, where the channel of the river being confined, it was somewhat impetuous and troublesome, but not deep. It was crossed nine times—whence the name applied to the place we started from. As we proceeded we entered upon a more open country, and our road led for some time over a bed of pure sand. A little before passing the last lang, or ford, we had to our right a small hill, called Koh Towár, whence stones are procured, employed in the baking of bread. On our left at this spot was a decomposed hill, universally of a green colour. We had here a view of the great plain of Kachí, which we hailed with pleasure, as our passage along the course of the Múlloh had been sufficiently tedious. We again passed a large burial-ground, the graves enclosed in low stone walls, and their surfaces neatly arranged with pebbles. On our left also were the remains of an old fort, the walls of which were extensive, although rudely constructed of stones. This was probably erected by some vigorous government for the protection of the route, and, as probably, it has also afforded shelter to brigands, who have in later times infested it. The Múl-

loh on our leaving it was perhaps fifty or sixty yards in breadth, but in no part deeper than the knees of our camels; nor had it been so during our progress. It hence flows northerly to Gandává, and I understand is spent in the irrigation of the lands in that vicinity. At certain seasons its stream may, possibly, find its way to the Nárí. We halted immediately after crossing the ninth lang. About a mile north of us was a conspicuous gúmbaz, or domed building, the zíárat of Pír Chátta, which is the usual halting-place for parties crossing the high range of Tirkárí, between Kalát and Kachí.

The Múllloh route, if there existed any important commercial communication, which there does not, between Kalát and the countries to the east, would be one of much value. It is not only easy and safe, but may be travelled at all seasons, and is the only camel-route through the hills intermediate between Sahárawân and Jhálawân, and Kachí, from the latitude of Sháll, where the line of intercourse is by the route of the Bolan river, to Khozdár, from which a road leads into middle Sind. It will have been ascertained from my narrative, that danger from predatory bands is not even apprehended; and this is always the case, unless the tribes are at war with each other, or disaffected towards the khân of Kalát. The petty rivulets, affluents to the Múllloh, as well as the primary stream, are liable to be swollen by rains; and instances of kâfilas having suffered loss

from the sudden increase of the water are cited ; although it may be presumed they are rare ; nor is it easy to imagine how such accidents could occur, excepting in some few spots. The inhabitants, as rude and simple as they are secluded, appeared very docile ; and in exchange for coarse cotton fabrics, or karpâs, turmeric, &c., supply kâfilas or passengers with sheep, fowls, roghan, curds, and rice. The last is grown in comparatively large quantities, as is mûng, and it has been seen, that besides the common grain, as jûâr, the cotton-plant is also an object of attention. In a military point of view, the route, presenting a succession of open spaces, connected by narrow passages, or defiles, is very defensible ; at the same time affording convenient spots for encampment, abundance of excellent water, fuel, and more or less forage. It is level throughout the road, either tracing the bed of the stream, or leading near to its left bank. Our marches were always short ones, not averaging above eight miles each. From Bopoh to Sún we made eight, which would give sixty-four miles for the length of the passage.

The following day we reached Jell, and halted in a grove of mimosas south of it, having passed on the road the village of Sirângarí. After three or four days' halt there, Kâlikdád joined us from Kalât, bringing with him Abbâs, a young man of that place. We farther awaited the arrival of a kâfila from Kândahâr, which, previously to the departure



of Kâlikdád, had proceeded by the Múlloh route. It at length reached us, in charge of my old friend Gúl Máhomed. Accompanying it were two or three Kándahár merchants, and Attá Máhomed, the son of a wealthy merchant residing in Shoráwak, to avoid the rapacity of the Kándahár sirdárs. Besides these were a few hâjis, and other itinerants. Kâlikdád tasked the camel-drivers for their rude behaviour to me on the road, but the error had been chiefly his own, in having announced me as a hâjí. Now that we better understood each other, they were perfectly civil, and I had only to intimate a wish to have it gratified. Their assent would often bring forth the whimsical assertion that they would oblige me, even if they cuckolded the khân and the kâzí.

At Jell a transit-fee of one sennár, or the sixth of a rupee, on each load of merchandize, is collected by Ahmed Khân, Sirdár of the Magghassís, who resides here. Its levy brought the sirdár's brother to the kâfila. He was an acquaintance of Kâlikdád, who therefore, besides the amount of duty, made him presents of raisins and worsted socks. This man never appeared altogether sober; otherwise he was free and courteous. Here is also stationed an officer of the khân of Kalât, to collect duties from such kâfilas that have not already paid them at Kalât, and who may not be provided with a pat, or voucher. The khân of Kalât levies three rupees, Kerim-khâní, on every load of merchandize leaving



his states, but it is indifferent whether the amount be collected at the capital or at the frontiers. The officer at Jell is certain of his individual fee, whether a pat is forthcoming or not—for no kâfila leaves Kalât without having evaded the duties in some mode. Kâlikdád, who would be esteemed a fair-dealing man, and who pretended to be a very loyal subject, had smuggled away several loads of raisins, besides ingeniously packing three loads upon two camels, and other expedients. At length, all the little arrangements of the kâfila being concluded, the brother of Ahmed Khân gave Kâlikdád a farewell mimâní, or entertainment, and he sent to know what I was accustomed to eat, and was somewhat surprised to hear that I ate what he did himself. This feast brought him, for the last time, to the kâfila, but exhilarated as usual. Some trifling presents were again made to him. On this occasion Kâlikdád called me aside, and promising a hope that I would not feel offended, told me that the khân's brother coveted the worsted socks I had on my feet. I asked if he would not be ashamed to wear old socks? "Oh! no," said Kâlikdád. Then let him have them, I rejoined, and gave them to him.

Jell is the principal town of the Magghassís, and the residence of their sirdár, Ahmed Khân. It is small, comprising within the walls about three hundred houses. Without may be one hundred hutted residences. There is an indifferent bazar. The

walls are mud, of some fifteen feet in height, and crenated, with towers at intervals in their faces. Much of the walls, and also some of the towers, have crumbled away, and have not been repaired. There are three gates, if the entrances may be so called, one to the east and two to the south. There are many groves near the town, chiefly mimosa, and on the east is an extensive burial-ground, among which, distinguished by their cupolas, the mausoleums of Kaisar Khân, and Jaffar Khân, former sirdars of the Magghassís, are conspicuous. There is no garden. Cultivation in the neighbourhood is extensive, principally of júár and the cotton-plant. The country occupied by the Magghassís is abundantly supplied with water. I believe above thirty canals of irrigation are reckoned, supplied by the springs in the neighbouring hills; some of them large. The soil is fertile, and capable of producing sugar, or any other superior growth of warm climates; yet, apathetic, and fettered by old custom, the agriculturalist here attempts nothing beyond júár. The Magghassís are one of the Baloch tribes, who have been located for a long time in Kachí, where they occupy the corner in the south-west quarter of the province. They are divided into four principal families or clans, of which the Bútâní is the more illustrious, and furnishes the sirdár of the whole. Their chief towns are Jell and Shádía.

They boast of being able to muster two thousand fighting men, and are engaged in endless hostility

with their neighbours, the Rinds. An inextinguishable blood-feud exists between the two tribes. At present, notwithstanding the superior numbers of the Rinds, fortune is entirely on the side of the Magghassís. They have gained signal victories, with a loss so trifling as to be nearly incredible; but a day or two before I wrote this note, a conflict took place on the Shikárpúr Pat, and the Rinds were, as usual, defeated. Ahmed Khán, their sirdár, is a young man, and his successes in the field have made him rather elated. He is too fond of the pleasures of wine; and perpetual intoxication, combined with vulgarity and coarse manners, prevents him from being considered amiable: yet he has a reckless kind of frankness and generosity, and if great sense cannot be conceded to him, his personal valour is undisputed. The Magghassís, and, indeed, their enemies the Rinds also, are a dissolute race; all who cannot afford the wretched ardent spirits of the country, stupify themselves with infusions of bang, or with opium. The zamíndárs, or cultivators of the soil, here, as throughout Kachí, are Jets. These people seldom move abroad but on bullocks, and never unless armed. A laughable tendency is excited by the sight of a Jet half naked—for shirts or upper garments are generally dispensed with—seated on a lean bullock, and formidably armed with matchlock, sword, and shield.

From Jell we marched to Samnatar; the com-



puted distance, eight cosses. About a mile from Jell the village of Ajâm was under the hills to our right. We crossed numerous canals of irrigation in our road. The cultivation in the vicinity of Jell was succeeded by an open barren space, after which some close jangal occurred. At two cosses from Jell the bazar village of Túnía, composed chiefly of huts, was on our right; it had a tomb, surmounted with a cupola. Jangal continued, more or less, until we reached Sannatar, on the bank of a water-course; in which there is always a small stream. We here saw large numbers of hobáras, or bustards, with speckled bodies and black bellies. Their meat was said to be excellent.

On starting from Sannatar the jangal was slight for some distance, and then became more close. Finally, the country was covered with a juicy but bitter plant, called here kâh shútar, but improperly, as it has no thorns, and can hardly be said to have leaves: it is, however, eagerly eaten by camels. About mid-way was a small chishma, or brook, supplied from a hot spring in the adjacent hills, called the spring of Lákha; it had a strong sulphureous taste. It is held in repute for alleviating disorders of the intestines, but its composition would more obviously indicate its efficacy in cutaneous affections. Inapplicable as a beverage, at least, to persons in health, it is made available to the irrigation of the neighbouring lands;



and cultivation again commenced at this point. Many huts were scattered on either side, as we followed on the road, particularly on our right, and numerous canals of irrigation intersected our course. At length, passing on our right the village of Kichí, we halted about half a mile beyond it. In front was a long line of large bér and mimosa trees. The town of Shádía, represented as surrounded by walls, and having two gates, with a bazar nearly as large as that of Jell, was visible about four miles distant, bearing north-east.

Next day, clearing the grove of bérs and mimosas before noted, we traversed occasionally much stony ground, broken by ravines and the beds of hill-torrents. We were now crossing the western extremity of the level desert track, known as the Shikárpúr Pat, and of notoriety for the numberless depredations and murders committed on it by the predatory bands of Baloches. Our kâfila moved under some apprehension, as it was known that the exiled Rinds on the frontiers of Sind had collected a large body of horse for a foray in Kachí; but its destination was kept a secret. The latter part of our march led under low eminences beneath the superior range; and on one of these was the tomb of Hâjî Marri. Our situation here was pleasant; but during the day the minds of our party were ill at ease, it being a spot likely to be visited by the Rinds, in case they moved in this direction. The Pat being destitute of water and forage, the

predatory bands in their excursions are compelled to make sudden dashes at the usual places where *kâfilas* halt, and not finding them, they as precipitately shift their quarters. In like manner, in their inroads into *Kachí*, they move swiftly on the place selected for plunder, and, successful or otherwise, retire with equal celerity. As evening drew near, my friend *Kâlikdád*, who throughout the day had sought many falls in his *Háfiz*, recovered his serenity of mind. He observed, that the danger was now past, the object of the *Rinds* in attacking *kâfilas* being to carry off the cattle, which they drive away when feeding in the *jangal*. Moreover, he felt secure, that if they arrived here on the morrow, it would not be until many hours after he had left the ground, as these robbers always march by day. Water was at some distance, from springs among the low hills to the west. About a mile to the north-east of our position was a large heap of stones, said to be the boundary-mark between the territories of *Kalât* and *Sind*; near it were two obelisks, said to be also liminary monuments. Deer abounded in these parts, and the wild ass is reported to be sometimes seen on the *Pat*. A plant, called *machúlik*, bearing yellow flowers, and having a succulent root, was common under the low *jangal* bushes. The same is found in the neighbourhood of *Líya* and *Bakkar*, west of the *Indus*, and the root employed as a horse-medicine.

Our next march led over a level naked surface until within three miles of the town of Déra Ghaibí, when commenced a vigorous cultivation of júár, to the east occasionally intermixed with patches of dense jangal. To the west the country was open to the foot of the inferior hills, distant perhaps three miles. The superior range was not nearer than eight to ten miles. Déra Ghaibí comprises a few mud houses, chiefly the dwellings of Hindús, and a large number of huts, and is the frontier town of Upper Sind, in this direction. Here resides Walí Máhoméd, the chief of the Chándí tribe of Baloches, who can raise, as is given out, twelve thousand men. The district, of which this town is the capital, is called Chándía, and is held in jághír by this leader and his followers. It is to this tribe that the present Tálpúrí chiefs, or amírs of Sind, are principally indebted for the authority they now possess. Hâjî Bījár, the father of the four brothers, Fatí Alí, Ghúlám Alí, Mír Kerim Alí, and Morád Alí, who first shook the power of the Kalorah rulers, after a pilgrimage to Mecca, repaired to Nassír Khân of Kalât, and strove to engage him in his designs of overthrowing the Kalorahs. The Baloch chieftain at first inclined favourably to Hâjî Bījár's views, but on the offer by the Kalorah chief of a large sum of money for the delivery into his hands of the factious Hâjî, he was about sacrificing his honour to his profit. Hâjî Bījár, informed thereof, fled to Ghaibí, father of the present Walí



Máhoméd, and then chief of the Chándí tribe. Ghaibí took up his cause, and by his assistance Hâjî Bîjár became master of Sind, with the nominal title of Vazír, much in the same manner as Fatí Khân placed himself over the indolent Shâh Máhmúd in Afghânistán. The present chiefs of Sind have always shown a great mistrust of the Chándí tribe, and lose no occasion to weaken and to divide it. It is an old and true saying, that a fool kicks away the ladder by which he rises, and the Chándí chiefs, with unpardonable simplicity, expected from the prince in power the condescension shown by the fugitive Hâjî. During the early part of the Tâlpúr sway, when there was dread of the Afghâns, necessity dictated liberality, and the Chándí chiefs, as those of other tribes, were in receipt of large sums of money from the government. When the Sindí rulers ceased to fear from the Afghâns, owing to their intestine commotions, and from the Baloches, owing to the feeble sway of the successors of Nassír Khân, they discontinued their largesses. The Chándí resources were now limited to the scanty returns from a sterile tract on the north-western frontier, and their chief was embarrassed to meet his expenses. Latterly, however, the inundations of the Indus have increased westernly, or a greater portion of its waters have been directed into the canals and branches from it, from which Déra Ghaibí has derived benefit. Still, the chief is sorely dissatisfied, and would, possibly,



join any invader of Sind that might appear, excepting, perhaps, Ranjit Singh. Wali Máhoméd is personally brave, and in the several military expeditions he has made has been uniformly successful. He has defeated the Magghassís of Jell, the father of whose present chief, Ahmed Khân, was slain in a battle with the Chándís; he has been victorious over the Marrís, whom he pursued into their hills; and over the Kaidránís, whom he signally discomfited in their own country. He is now hostile to the Rinds, and in alliance with the Magghassís. Ahmed Khân, their chief, when a youth, and some years ago, after a severe defeat by the former tribe, took horse and rode to the house of Wali Máhoméd at Déra Ghaibí. He told him, that he came personally to absolve him from his father's blood, and to crave his assistance, that the tribe of Magghassís might not be exterminated. Wali Máhoméd hastened with his troops, and checked the Rinds in their career of devastation. We afterwards learned, that the Rinds had made a dash at Shádía; that they had made some booty, and had killed three or four individuals. Wali Máhoméd sent to Wali Máhoméd Lígárí of Lárkhâna, who is called the Vazír of Sind, and has charge of the state interests on the northern frontier, for permission to march, as an ally of the Magghassís, and to intercept the Rinds on their return. The vazír withheld his sanction, and bestowed many opprobrious epithets on the Chándí

chief. He declared, that if he marched he should never set his foot again in Sind.

Near Déra Ghaibí is a branch, or rather canal from the Indus, which flows southernly to Júi, and falls into the Nárí, an arm of the great river, a little before its junction with lake Manchúr. Walí Máhomed is partial to Afghâns, and never exacts duty from their kâfilas, while rigidly enforcing it from Bráhúís and Hindús. He was not at Déra while we halted there, but Kâlikdád sent a due offering of raisins to his family. The chief is now aged, and is represented to be zâlim, which may mean tyrannical or oppressive, or merely that he governs his tribe with a strong hand.

## CHAPTER VII.

Amil.—Panic of Hindús.—Got Ghai.—Ferídabád.—Wild melons.  
 — Got Hússén.—Gumbaz Borah.—Site of Vrij.—Zíárat  
 Mir Nassir Máhoméd.—Tombs.—Evening solemnities.—Gáj  
 rivulet.—Route to Khozdár.—Kálikdád's sale.—Musical guide.  
 —Júi.—Baháwal Khán.—Jamáli tribe.—Increase of water.—  
 Penalties on Hindús.—Chinní.—Tombs and zíárats.—Low  
 state of religion.—Shrine worship.—Búbak.—Repute of Trenní.  
 —Dog stolen.—Baloch Got.—Villages near Séhwan.—Diwán  
 Sangat's entertainment.—Old fort of Séhwan.—Mound.—  
 Reliques.—Their purport.—Conjectures.—Modern buildings.—  
 Láíl Sháh Báiz.—Illustrious pilgrims.—Establishments.—Re-  
 venues.—Rindistán.—Mírú Khán.—Recognition.—Venal col-  
 lectors.—Inflexible Saiyad.—Fees.—Garm-áb.—Fossils.—  
 Hot springs.—Their character.—Sulphur mines.—Rude re-  
 mains.—Tanda Máhí.—Got Hindú.—Reappearance of Saiyad.  
 —Fresh claims.—Malgari.—Gohar Basta.—Pekar.—Cones—  
 Wad Déra.—Kálikdád's fraud.—Do Ráh.—Tánah.—Búlfúts.—  
 Namadís.—Káfila arrangements.—Búlfút honesty.—Their  
 country.—Remarkable Gohar Basta.—Its construction.—  
 Lúmris.—Dágghar-dí-Got.—Arrangements.—Ceremony.—Búlfút  
 civility.—Hindú prayers.—Pérarú.—Búlfút indulgence.—  
 Baloch family.—Opium-pills.—Hab river.—Suspicious people.  
 —Credulous Baloches.—Inquiries and predictions.—Huts.—  
 Súnmiání.—Búlfút choice and reward.

WE had now gained the borders of Sind, an orderly, and well-regulated country in comparison to that we had left; and we had no longer doubts

as to the safety of the road, or apprehensions from bands of Rinds, or other marauders. Our route led along the western frontier, where well-defined hill ranges confine the valley of the Indus. A little beyond Dera Gháibí were, on our right hand, several gumbazzes, or tombs with cupolas. About a mile before reaching Amil fields of júár commenced, and extended to the town. The road was continually divided by bands. Amil contains about one hundred and fifty houses, a few built of mud, the dwellings of the Hindús, and the remainder huts. It has a small bazar. Here resides a relative of Walí Máhoméd, who visited Kálíkdád, and presented a sheep. We found the Hindús in great consternation, as an order had just arrived from Haidarabád to levy twelve hundred rupees from the town. They were preparing for nocturnal flight.

About a coss from Amil we passed, on our left, a small walled village, called Got Ghai, and about a mile beyond it two or three buildings, said to be a daramsâla, and Hindú zíarat. To the west, the plain, as usual, was clear to the hills. Extensive fields of júár preceded our arrival at Feridabád. This is a small town, with a few mud houses, and many huts. The bazar is considered larger than that of Amil. The superior range of hills, distant four or five miles.

In our progress next day we passed several tombs with cupolas, on the right hand. Cultivation was general, and besides júár, some múng was seen. A



species of wild melon was abundant over the fertile soil. It is called mihâl; attains the size of a turnip, and is used, dressed with ghee, or clarified butter, as a condiment, by the people. Several villages were observed to the east. Got Hússén Khân, where we halted, had a trifling bazar. In our route from Got Hússén Khân we passed the village of Búgh, with a bazar. Cultivation on the road was more or less general. A very fragrant plant was common on this march, which deliciously perfumed the night breeze. As it was dark I was unable to observe it. By daylight we beheld, to the east, in the distance, a large building with three cupolas, called Gúmbaz Borah. It is, in fact, an ancient masjít, and as we came parallel to it we observed around it ruins for a great extent. We were told it was the site of Vrij, a town often mentioned in the annals of Sind. It is represented as entirely deserted. A few múllas and fáquirs dwell at the masjít, where a nagára, or drum, is beaten morning and evening. At our halting-place was a large burial-ground, where many of the Kalorah family were interred, when Khodábád, said to be twenty cosses to the east, was their capital. One of these, Mír Nassúr Máhoméd, has become a saint with the Jet tribes; and his tomb is a place of pilgrimage to multitudes, who are taught to believe that their wishes are to be realized through the favour of the saint. His tomb is crowned with a cupola, and is enclosed

within square turreted walls, painted on the exterior with rude representations of flowers. A nagára is beaten here; and the revenue of the contiguous land is appropriated to the support of the edifice and of its little establishment. In the burial-ground are about twenty-five other cupolas, all of them fantastically decorated, and painted with coarse glaring colours. There are a vast number of graves, more or less conspicuous. To the south is a large pond of water, with high banks: the fluid is palatable, but muddy and offensive to the sight. It supplies three small agricultural hamlets contiguous. Within a mile east of the tombs is a considerable dam, or artificial mound, at whose base, near some remains of walls, is a zíarat, also of repute, and which has its nagára. In the evening the deep and solemn intonations of these rival nagáras, with those of the neighbouring Borah masjít, produced an impressive effect. One could have imagined he had been transported back to the old times of Buddhism.

The next day's march brought us to the southern bank of the Gâj, rúd khâna, or rivulet. Distance from Zíarat Mír Nassír Máhomed, said to be seven cosses. Our route led over a well-cultivated tract, without any fixed village on the line of road, but there were many discernible to the east. There were, nevertheless, numerous collections of Baloch huts. The course of the Gâj was visible some time before we reached it, its banks being fringed with

tall tamarisk-trees. We found a tolerable stream of water in its bed, which was esteemed an unusual occurrence. We crossed it and halted. Near us were a few huts of the Jamâli tribe, who inhabit the country from the Gâj towards Séhwan; and a little lower down, on the stream, was a village called Bâbûr-di-Gôt. The bazar village of Talli was distant about three miles east; and another, named Pûljî, about four miles south-east. The point where the Gâj issues from the hills, marks also that where the road leads through them from this part of the country to Khozdâr, and from our position bore due west. Here Kâlikdâd made some sales of raisins to Hindûs of the neighbouring villages, and gave one parcel to a man he had never seen before, taking in payment a draft, or order, on a brother Hindû at Jûi. I asked him if he might not be deceived. He thought it unlikely.

Proceeded to Jûi, distant, by computation, eight cosses from the bank of the Gâj. After clearing the cultivation near the stream, we crossed a level tract much intersected by bands and water-channels. We did not follow the actual path, as Kâlikdâd had taken the precaution to hire a guide for this march. This fellow, on being told he was a bad guide, replied, that he was a good singer of songs; and in truth, apparently careless as to what route he led the kâfila, he never ceased singing from the outset of his journey until we arrived at Jûi. The object in hiring this man, was to pass wide of some marshy



land, said to lie on the direct road. As we started at midnight, by daybreak we were in sight of Júi, the country to our east abounding in villages. In the vicinity of the town the surface of the soil was in many places covered with water. A few deep and broad trenches much incommoded the passage of the laden camels. Fields of júár extended eastward. To the west a slight jangal stretched to the superior hills, distant a good march, or eight to ten cosses. We halted under the walls of the town, which comprises about two hundred houses, with comparatively a flourishing bazar. Ordinary supplies are readily procurable. It is surrounded by a mud crenated, but dilapidated wall of fifteen feet in height. The only prominent building of the place was a new masjít, built by Bahawâl Khân, chief of the Jamâli tribe, which, like the houses, is erected of no more costly material than mud. At the south-west angle are the remains of a small mound, of more solid structure, originally formed with kiln-burnt bricks. This town is the little capital of a small district, held in jághír by the Jamâli tribe of Baloches, whose chief, Bahawâl Khân, resides near the hills, for the convenience of grazing his flocks and herds, in which he is wealthy. This district commences northerly at the Gâj rivulet, and southernly it extends about three cosses beyond Júi. West it is bounded by the high frontier hills, and east its limits reach to the Nári branch of the Indus, where there is a thriving village,



called Bahâwalpûr, seated on its banks. The Jamâlî boast of being able to raise seven hundred fighting-men. They have the singular custom of never selling milk, averring they retain it for their guests. The Marrîs, another Baloch tribe, for the same alleged reason, will on no account sell roghan. The Lâr-kâna canal, or branch of the Indus, was said to be distant about a coss to the east of Jûî, and supplies the bazar with fish. The main stream,—by which I hardly know whether the Nârî or the Indus itself was meant,—was affirmed to be eight cosses distant. It would appear, that during late years a far greater supply of water enters the canal than formerly, and even causes it, like the parent stream, to inundate. Jûî heretofore experienced distress from having no water immediately near; now, its numerous canals are overflowing.

Kâlikdâd made sales here of madder and raisins. The order given by the Hindû at the Gâj river proved worthless on presentation. I was inclined to joke with my friend on his simplicity, but he was not willing to allow that I had reason. There was no Hindû, he said, in Sind, who would venture so egregiously to defraud a Mússulmân, for the penalty would involve the forfeiture of his property to ten times the amount of the fraud, and his being forcibly made a Máhomedan. This penal regulation seemed ingeniously framed to protect the Mússulmân against the sharper witted Hindû, as well as to increase the number of proselytes to Islâm. Kâlik-

dád, however, was right in his estimation, for the Hindú came toiling to Júi with the money. He declared he knew that the order was useless, but feared that had he not given it the raisins might have been refused to him.

From Júi, four computed courses led us to Chinní, a town adjacent to the low hills, dependent on the superior range. Many of the eminences were crowned with gumbazzes, or tombs, marked by cupolas. Some of them were handsomely carved, and their material was yellow stone. Sind is a great country for tombs and ziarats. The abundance of the latter, if a proof of the state of civilization in a country, is a certain one of the credulity of the inhabitants. It is also evidence, although it may seem, at first view, a paradoxical assertion, of the low state of religion, for the people, who are prone to pay homage to ziarats, will not be found frequenters of the ordinary places of worship. Thus, in Sind the masjits are neglected, while the ziarats, or shrines, are flourishing. The natives, calling themselves Máhomedans, have abandoned essentially the religion of Islám, and have become votaries to a new worship, that of shrines. Among the Baloch tribes of the hills this is wholly the case; indeed a masjít is rarely or ever to be seen among them. There is much cultivation around Chinní, and a good deal of pasture. Its bazar has about sixty shops.

The road from Chinní led pleasantly along a fine

tract of pasture, (low hills, or eminences, to our right, and a plain stretching eastward to the Náří, and lake Manchúr,) to Trenní, a small village with its complement of gúmbazzes. Búbak, on the borders of the lake, was a conspicuous object from this place, either that its houses were elevated, or that it was seated on a mound. Its climate is vaunted, and both Trenní and Chinní were much favoured in this respect, and also in their situation and grass-land. Búbak is said to contain nearly a thousand houses. Contiguous thereto were the villages of Rází and Bárání. Séhwan was pointed out east. Trenní has a singular and ignoble repute, that of dog-stealing. The dogs of kâfilas, it is said, are sure to disappear at Trenní. Kâlikdád had picked up on the road a very large dog, that had become habituated, and had travelled with us for some days. He had always expressed his fear that he should lose him at Trenní. We took all precautions, doubled our watch, but in the morning there was no dog.

Our route from Trenní led through slight jangal, and its latter part was through sand to Baloch Gót, a small village on rising ground, with three or four shops. Here it is customary for kâfilas to halt, until the duties payable at the town of Séhwan are adjusted. A miserable fellow, called Músa, a Rind, came from the village, and stationed himself with the kâfila. His task was to watch that no loads were clandestinely forwarded or secreted.



Kâlikdâd repairing to Séhwan, I accompanied him, being desirous to see the remains of the ancient fort there. Our route from Baloch Got was through a well-cultivated country, villages occurring at short intervals. These had always a better and ancient appearance, from being chiefly built of kiln-burnt bricks, and from having one or more upper stories. They were generally raised on capacious mounds. Towards Séhwan large mimosa-trees are abundant, and the road was pleasant, passing through a grove. Low sand-hills occur just before reaching the town, and the soil becomes affected by them. We traversed the bazar, and took up quarters at a fâqír's takía, overlooking the Aral branch of the Indus, and immediately under the ancient fort. Séhwan was computed at six cosses from Baloch Got. Kâlikdâd noted his arrival to the officers of Diwân Sangat, the farmer of the revenues, and they came to ascertain the number of individuals in company, that provision for their fare might be furnished, as is the custom with the Diwân. We received a due allowance of rice, flour, roghan, and sugar. In conformity to the routine of business here, a Saiyad and a Hindú, the one to check the fidelity of the other, were appointed to return with our party, and to ascertain if the particulars rendered by the merchants were correct.

I inspected the old fort, which I found constructed of kiln-burnt bricks around the sides of a huge oblong mound. It was much dilapidated, but the



entrances were still well marked. There was nothing, however, in its exterior appearance which would justify an opinion of its great antiquity. It might be one thousand years old, it might be five hundred. The mound is artificial, or rather chiefly artificial, for an eminence was originally here, as proved by the masses of rock on the northern face; and this has been made the nucleus of an immense collection of earth. The mound may, or may not have been formed considerably prior to the walls, which face its exterior sides, and contain it. The chance is that it had a prior existence. From the gates, cut through the mound, were streets, which, although much choked up, and converted by the action of centuries into water-courses, retain the signs of their former destination in the masses of brickwork, and similar indications, which yet in some parts adhere to the sides. Quantities of burnt grain, as wheat and gram, are discovered in some spots. On examination of these, I found they were intermixed with fragments of bone and of cocoa-nut shells, ample proofs that they denoted spots of cremation. This fact also explains why coins, trinkets, and other trifles should be met with so frequently, they being merely deposits with the dead, as far as coins are concerned, and the trinkets were attached to the corpse when consumed. I did not see any of the coins found, but understand that they are invariably Máhomedan, especially coins of the caliphs. This circumstance would go far to

prove that in their time the mound was a Hindú place of cremation. At the same time, it may not affect the antiquity of the walls, for it is as easy to suppose that the Hindús converted a neglected fortress into a receptacle for the ashes of their dead as it is to suppose the converse, or that the Máhomedans converted a Hindú cemetery into a citadel. In the latter case, however, and it is not impossible, the walls themselves have not an antiquity beyond that of the Caliphs. Like every other person who roams about these ruins, I found a relique, but an insignificant one, a copper ornament, which my companions pronounced an ear-ring.

There are the remains of buildings on the mound sufficient to point out that it has been occupied at a comparatively recent date; and part of the outer wall of a tower above the western gateway, rising, indeed, above the level of the mound, exhibits interiorly a few niches, seeming to show that the apartment was an inhabited one. The town of Séhwan itself is seated on a mound or mounds, a little inferior in height only to that of the castle, and the base of these towards the east has been secured by being faced with masonry. At the present day, it is far less famed on account of its antiquity, or of its reputed founder, Seth, than as being honoured with the shrine of the illustrious Máhomedan saint, Láll Sháh Bâz. Who he was is not decisively known; whether, as the attendants at his shrine pretend, a saint of some

distant region, or, as some aver, a successful purloiner of his neighbours' cattle. However this may be, if he be even a fabulous saint, created on the wreck of a Hindû one, the repute of his shrine is well established, and Lâll Shâh Bâz has become venerated with the emphatic title of the Pîr of the Kohîstân. The favours of the saint are, of course, granted in proportion to the value of the offerings of pilgrims; and it may be presumed that the treasury of his temple is rich. The amîrs of Sind have testified their piety by many costly donations, and are wont, at times, to repair to Séhwan to implore the good offices of Lâll Shâh Bâz. The profligate vazîr, Fatî Khân, at some risk, clandestinely visited this shrine, and no doubt went away satisfied that he had left his sins behind him. The buildings attached are very numerous, and some of them sufficiently splendid; the principal is crowned with a large cupola. The establishment of attendant mûllas and fâqîrs is also ample, and food is distributed to indigent pilgrims and mendicants. Much ceremony is observed in the approach of pilgrims to the shrine, and the rolling murmurs of the nagâra accompany the steps of the awe-stricken men. Amongst the wonders of the place are two tigers, enclosed in cages. Séhwan being one of the more eminent towns of Sind west of its river, is held by one of the amîrs, and was now enjoyed by Mîr Morád Alî. The revenues of the town are annually exposed to sale, and the



purchaser this year was the *Díwán* *Sangat*, who, in like manner, had acquired the revenues of *Tátta*. The district dependent on *Séhwán* extends to the lake *Manchúr*, and is very fertile in grain. Between *Séhwán* and *Baloch Got* the district is held in *jághír* by a branch of the *Utan Zai*, the principal *Rind* tribe, who have dwelt there for three generations, and have conferred on it the name of *Rindistân*. From this branch *Mír Morád Alí* has taken a wife, who is the mother of *Mír Nassír Khán*. In our journey to *Séhwán* we met on the road, returning from a visit to the *zíarat* of *Láll Sháh Bâz*, *Mírú Khán*, the present young *sirdár*, or chief, of these *Rinds*. He was attended by some fifteen mounted followers, on horses and camels; two or three of them carried hawks. He was corpulent, and appeared thoughtless; and his reputation for sense I found accorded with the mediocrity of his appearance.

The *saiyad*, and his colleague the *Hindú*, being ready to start, we returned with them to *Baloch Got* by the same road we had come to *Séhwán*. On passing through the bazar of the town I was recognized as a *Feringhí* by several people, but the recognition was immaterial.

A day was passed at *Baloch Got* in satisfying the cravings of the *saiyad*, the *Hindú*, and of *Músa* the *Rind*. The *Hindú* was most easily contented, and went his way; *Músa* made more difficulty, but suffered his conscience to be soothed. The



saiyad, however, remained, and it was difficult to divine the extent of his expectations. It is fair to observe that, if the inferior officers in Sind are venal, and the collections of duty are vexatiously made, the merchants of *kâfilas* lay themselves open to annoyance and exaction. They invariably exercise their ingenuity to defraud the revenue, and therefore place themselves at the mercy of the collectors. Our saiyad, a remarkably sedate opium-eating gentleman, exhibited the most inflexible composure; and he had completely the advantage over his victims, for they could not march until he uttered the word "*mokal*," or "permission to depart." It was clear that he was quite indifferent as to the length of time he might detain the *kâfila*, as he must be well entertained so long as it stayed. He made no demands; but on *Kâlikdâd* and the others tendering him what they judged due, he received it, and sat with the same imperturbable gravity as before, evincing no inclination to move; from which it was inferred he was not satisfied. This farce was carried on during the day; and it was evening when, having received from *Kâlikdâd* twelve rupees and a quantity of raisins and *jîra* (carraways), and sixteen rupees from *Attâ Mâhomed* and the *Kândahâr kâfila*, he pronounced the word so desired, "*mokal*," and took his leave.

We then marched to *Garm-âb*, distant from *Baloch* Got four cosses. The *jangal* was considerable,

and some marshy ground impeded our progress. Beyond, a dry open country again presented itself. We passed a circular enclosure of masonry, clearly, from its style and neatness, a remnant of other days. At length we crossed the brook Garm-âb, flowing through a grove of mimosas, and halted immediately beyond it. I proceeded to its sources, about three hundred yards from our position. They issue from the foot of a low rock, made up of fossilized shells. A deep basin is formed, shaded by small bushes and plants; the water delightfully lucid, glides easterly for about two hundred and fifty yards, when it expands into a small pond, thence anew flowing easterly, it descends upon the plain, providing for the irrigation of the neighbouring lands. I bathed about eighty yards from the sources, and was surprised at the warmth of the water, as well as much gratified with immersion. The water is drunk, and has no perceptible taste. Numerous little fishes play in its transparent stream. There are many springs in these countries whose waters, warm in the morning, become cold during the day; but this of Garm-âb is really a hot spring, preserving its temperature at all times and seasons. I was told that its temperature increased in winter, but it is possible it only then becomes more palpable from the lower state of the atmosphere. I have before noted the sulphureous spring of Lákha, some twenty miles south of Jell; there is another a little below Séhwan, on the hills west of the

Indus, and again other very hot springs near Karáchí. These several springs are found in the same line of hills, and those the inferior ones at the base of the superior range dividing Sind and Kachí from Balochistân. They extend from the Bolan pass to the ocean. The springs are found also under the same condition, or accompanied with fossilized shells, as if on their original creation, the fossilized mass had been gurgled up from beneath the surface, through the vents afforded to them, and had been subsequently condensed. These springs may afford data for an opinion as to the epoch when these hills were called into existence, which again must have been after the deposit of the shells. Under the same hills north of Jell, and west of Súrân and Sanní, are sulphur mines, showing that the same character of formation distinguishes them throughout their course. Immediately north of the spring, and of the isolated hill from whose base it gushes forth, is an artificial mound, strewn with fragments of pottery, as was the surface of the soil around. That this spot was anciently an object of adoration, when natural phenomena were deemed worthy of veneration, may be believed: at present we have its grove and its charmed circle, but we miss the temple. We were now about to enter a region replete with rustic, yet sometimes massy monuments of the former superstitions of a barbarous people. They bear a great analogy to the ponderous Celtic vestiges of ancient Europe, and,



like them, were constructed in the same primitive state of society. It is not impossible that they owe their origin even to the same races and superstitions. The name given to the spring of Garm-âb is expressive of its warmth. The plain below us to the east was spacious and well cultivated, and plentifully sprinkled with hamlets. A superior dwelling was pointed out as the Tanda Mâhî, the residence of a respectable chief.

The first part of our next journey traced the base of the low hills on our right. Afterwards we crossed a rûd-khâna, its bed wide, and furnished with a stream of water. It accompanied us on our right during the remainder of our course. Turning the base of a low hill, the waste was overspread with perpûk-trees, a few in blossom. In one or two places the soil was of a dark red colour, friable, and unctuous to the touch. Passing a burial-place on our right, in which were some prominent tombs of carved yellow stone, a little beyond it we halted at the remains of an old building called Got Hindû. This was supposed by my companions to have been a fortress, its form being square, while circular towers described the angles. There were, however, peculiarities in the mode of architecture, which made me suspect it to be rather an ancient religious edifice. The walls were only two feet in height, and I inferred they had never been higher. Their breadth was about eight feet. The inner and exterior surfaces were arranged with much neatness.



The natives here call any old place, prior to their time or conception, Hindú. We were now in the country held by the Búlfút tribe of Lúmris, who extend in the direction of Karáchí until, parallel to Táтта, they are met by the Júkías, another Baloch tribe. Our water was procured from the rúd-khána just noted. We had scarcely unladen our camels when, to the horror of Kálikdád and his brother merchants, the inexorable saiyyad of Séhwan, with three attendants, on camels, made their appearance. Sad evasion had been practised. He affirmed, merchandize had been sold clandestinely on the road, and the kâfila must return to Séhwan. With much ado he was induced to dismount, and to consent to remain until the morning's meal—in preparation—was ready. This delay gave opportunity for debate, and Kálikdád talked much of his respectability and honesty, which the wary saiyyad never affected to doubt. The same farce was enacted as at Séhwan; additional fees were given before the unwelcome guest would depart, and a fresh "mokal" was pronounced. I asked Kálikdád if he had not exercised his ingenuity in evading duty. He owned he had, but the Kândahár merchants had overdone the matter.

Throughout the next march the road, always level, led through a jumble of low hills, interspersed with waste, speckled with low trees and shrubs. We crossed the bed of a rúd-khána, and winding through a variety of small eminences, so exactly

conical that I hardly knew whether they were natural objects or artificial mounds, we halted at a spot called Malgarí. Water was found in the bed of the rúd-khâna.

Our road, the following day, led generally along an open valley, low parallel hills on either side. Towards the end of our journey, we crossed the bed of a rúd-khâna, with water in it. Beyond it we had on our right one of those ancient structures to which the natives apply the name of Gohar Basta. It was oblong; and by the disposition of its walls, which in structure resembled those of the building at Gôt Hindú, described four apartments, which faced the east. This antique vestige was distinguished by the presence of some fine dédárs, the first we had met with, although they abounded in the following marches. We halted at a spot called Pokar, which was clear and open. Fragments of pottery strewed about the surface here, proved that anciently it was honoured by the presence of man. Now it is a solitude. There were, also, a series of conical heaps of stones, of large dimensions, and worthy of remark, as being situated on the plain. Heretofore we had noticed isolated ones, but seated on eminences. The summit of a hill to the south-west was crowned with so many of these cones that they gave it the appearance of being turreted. I was left to conjecture whether they were recent tombs or more ancient monuments. That they were the latter, their oc-

currence in such a spot, marked by its gohar basta, and other evidences, might tend to substantiate. The hills in the neighbourhood yield a red powder, which the natives are willing to believe sindúr, or the red oxide of lead. Water was procured from a rúd-khâna.

We thence traversed a fine level plain, neglected, indeed, but with good soil, and free from stones. On gaining a low detached hill, we skirted its base, having to our left a rúd-khâna. This we crossed, and halted immediately on its bank. About half a mile east of our ground was a small village, called Wad Déra, where resided Mír Khân, a Búlfút chief, who collects a transit-fee of a quarter rupee on each camel-load of merchandize. I followed the path, which led among the jangal to the village, and was recognized by the Hindús, of whom there are some, to be a Feringhí. The men of the kâfila inquired for honey here. Mír Khân paid Kálikdád a visit, and brought him a fine dumba, or fat-tailed sheep. The merchant, nevertheless, did not scruple to deceive him most egregiously in the amount of duty paid.

From Wad Déra our march was over a fine level surface, slightly wooded with bér-trees, and those called kúber, pélú, ghwángghí, &c., with the plant hîshwirg. A variety of mimosa predominated. The tittar, or partridge, was plentiful. This march, called of eight cosses, I suspect was nearer twelve, for it was one of the longest we



had made. We finally halted near some small eminences occupying the face of the valley, and having higher hills on either side of us. These were, as usual, marked by conical heaps of stones. From Do Râh (the two roads literally) led a road to Jirikí and Haidarabád, and the other we were following, to Karáchí. The rúd-khâna we crossed at Wad Déra was on our left throughout the march; we again came upon it at Do Râh, and derived from it our water. Our next march, a long one of twelve cosses, was made over a country extensively open, and free from large hills. The waste was overspread, as usual, with slight jangal. A village occurred on our right, with a burial-ground and zíárat, amid a grove of trees. Hence the soil became somewhat sandy, and our road traced the base of a low hill on our left, until it terminated. From this point our course inclined westerly to Got Arab, or, as sometimes called, Tánah, where we halted. This is a large village of huts, where sometimes resides Ahmed Khân, the chief of the Búlfúts. There are many Hindús at it. Here a transit-fee of a quarter rupee per load is again collected on the merchandize. The chief was not present, and the amount was paid to his mother. The Búlfúts boast of comprising twelve thousand khânas, or families, and as many fighting-men; which any one would be inclined to doubt who had traversed their country, and, excepting the two or three small villages, had not seen a house



or hut in it, and scarcely a human being. They are a tribe of the great Lúmri community, and are denominated Lúmri Báránis, in contradistinction to the Lúmri tribes of Las, called Lassís. In the public records of Sind they are called Namadí, by which designation they are mentioned in the treaty between Nádír Sháh and Máhoméd Sháh of Delhí. There are two important divisions, the Bâppahâní, whose chief is Búla Khân, and the Amalâní, whose chief is Ahmed Khân. These are again numerous subdivided. Ahmed Khân holds in jághír the bazar village of Kotlí, on the western bank of the Indus, opposite to Haidarabád. It is about five years since duty was first allowed to be collected by the Lúmris. Before, kâfilas strong in number would sometimes pass through their limits, but their camels, when grazing, would be carried off, and occasionally a load or two would be stealthily abstracted on the march. Faiz Ahmed, the Babí merchant of Kalât, and cousin of Kâlikdád, who possessed some consideration with the amírs of Haidarabád, preferred a petition to them, that the Lúmri chiefs should receive a small transit-fee from passing kâfilas, and be held responsible for any loss that befel them. The amírs approved the suggestion, and the Lúmri chiefs consented to the terms. Since that time no instance of robbery has been known, and even animals straying are always secured and delivered up. If one be irrecoverably lost, it is presumed stolen, and its value

paid. These Lúmrís, or Bulfúts, as they generally call themselves, lead a life entirely pastoral. The little land cultivated is stocked with júarí. The extensive tract of country they spread over has many tracts of good soil, and nothing is required but the construction of bands to secure the rain-water, and bring much of it under culture. That it was once more peopled than at present is evidenced by the sites of former villages pointed out.

From Tánah an open level country spread for about four or five cosses. We then neared some small eminences to our right, and upon the bank of a water-course stretching from them we came upon the most complete and singular gohár basta I had yet seen. There was exactly the same kind of structure we had met with near Pokar; an oblong, divided by walls of masonry into four apartments; but connected therewith, and north of it, was another square erection, with projecting entrances. This was composed of huge stones; the length of one was equal to fourteen of my spans, the breadth five spans, the thickness only one span. The extent of the oblong I found seventy-two of my paces. At the head of the water-course, I learned, were some works of masonry, and that they had been penetrated by the Lúmrís, who conjectured that a spring of water had been, at some unknown period, wilfully closed by them. They probably opened a place of sepulchre, and failing to discover what they sought for, they found some trifling arti-

cles, one amongst which they supposed to be a chil-lam, or apparatus for smoking tobacco.



GOHAR BASTA, OR CYCLOPEAN VESTIGE.

At some distance from these monuments we crossed another *rúd-khâna*, without water, and I was told, that to the right were other conspicuous *gohâr basta*. We made towards a detached hill, visible in our front, under which we finally halted. I was not satisfied with the cursory view I had taken in passing of the structures I had seen, therefore walked back with one of the camel-drivers, and inspected them more at leisure; also took a sketch of the square building. On our return we met two *Lúmris*, one of them armed, who asked my companion to let him examine his sword. The *Bráhúi* declined, alleging, that good

men did not part with their weapons. The Lúmri said he was a staunch súpáhi, or soldier, and, after some jokes, we parted. Close to this halting-place was a village of huts, called Dágghar dí Gót; amongst the population were a few Hindús. On the hills were some of the conical stone monuments.

There fell a smart shower of rain here, from which we sheltered ourselves under the projecting ledges of the rock. I made an agreement with a Búlfút to conduct me to Súnmiání, as I did not know how I might be received at Karáchí, and I did not wish Kâlikdád to incur trouble on my account. This man provided a running-camel, and engaged to conduct me to Súnmiání in three days, receiving four rupees in remuneration. He had no idea that I was a Feringhí; and I made over to Kâlikdád my compass, and other things which were as well not to be seen, and stuffed them into my pillow, keeping with me my kúrzín, or saddle-bags, filled with clothes and books. Kâlikdád was to bring the pillow, as he would visit Súnmiání in a few days. The kâfila started by night, and, I afterwards learned, reached Karáchí in four marches, halting respectively at Tirk, Manároh, Malaroh, and Karáchí. Two of Ahmed Khân's men accompanied it; from which I inferred the country was more peopled, and that more precaution was necessary. At sunset one of these, mounting on the loads, gave notice, as loud as he was able, that the country was God's, and its Bádsháh Mír Mórád



Alí, and that any one committing theft should refund in the proportion of one rupee to one pais, and of one hundred rupees to one rupee. Without this observance and caution, I was told, the simple value of effects stolen could only be recovered. Kâlikdád and Attá Máhomed, although the kâfila had started, to do me honour, remained with me the night at the Búlfút's house in the village, and in the morning departed, recommending me to his care.

The Búlfút, as soon as he had breakfasted, went in search of his camel, and did not return until noon. The beast was not secured, and again strayed into the jangal, and could not be found. My companion told me to keep a "vadda dil," or, my spirits high; but I could have wished there had been no delay. The Lúmrís are certainly not a very delicate race, and below even many of their neighbours in the little arts and conveniences of life. The family I had mixed with comprised only the Búlfút and a young woman, about his own age, I could not tell whether his wife or his sister. My companion, in proof of his civility, would make me partake of his wat, or boiled rice, and would only allow me to sip from that part of the wooden bowl which had been already moistened by his lips. I was heartily glad when the alternate meal was over.

Two or three hours before daylight next morning a loud chanting commenced in the village, which, I learned from the Búlfút when he awoke, was from the Hindús reading their granths, or, as

he expressed it, worshipping God in their own way. He then went in search of the camel, and brought it back with him a little after noon. He prepared to start, telling me he would keep his word, although his female companion wished him to delay until the morning. We took our leave of the village, and making good way, the road always good, with low hills around us, we reached a place called Pérarú, where we passed the night with a Baloch family.

My conductor was, like all the Lúmris, an opium eater, and not only took a dose himself on starting but administered one to his camel. The animal became in consequence very wild for a time, and ran here and there, little troubling itself about the path, until the exhilaration of the opium had past. My friend as the animal capered about did not fail to encourage me, by telling me to keep a vadda dil, and, what was as necessary, to lay tight hold of his kamarband, or waist-shawl. We travelled nearly the whole of the day. Huts were sometimes passed, and the soil was sandy. The hills bore a very different aspect, being now earthy ones, with abrupt scarped sides, and tabular summits. We halted for the night at a Baloch hut; the inmates civil, and if the men were unseemly, the females were very pretty. My Búlfút ate opium with every man he met. The ceremony observed on such occasions may be noted. The opium, formed into pills, is placed by the fingers of the one into the mouth

of the other, so that no man, unless alone, employs his own fingers.

The next day we crossed the valley, through which flows the Hab river. It presented a wild scene of natural confusion, from the enormous masses of rock scattered about it. Towards evening we passed through some hills, and by night reached a spot where there were many dwellings, and some Hindús. Here, had I arrived by daylight, I might have had an adventure; as it was, the people were suspicious, and came in small parties of two and three to reconnoitre, and went away. At length the Búlfút found out a friend, and this put an end to interruption. This man, I observed, always knew some one individual at each place he halted at.

We started betimes in the morning, and traversed a country rather of undulating heights and depressions, than of hills. It was also better wooded. At noon we reached a collection of Baloch huts, where my conductor telling our hosts that I had so many books, that if I lived among them I should be revered as a *holia*, or saint, I was asked to ascertain whether much rain would fall. I, in turn, inquired the reason of their solicitude about rain. They replied, that too much rain originated disease amongst their flocks, and that they lost numbers of them. Thus provided with information, I gravely turned over the pages of Duncan's Edinburgh Dispensatory, and, of course, predicted that only a reasonable quantity of rain might be



expected. I was then asked to tell if some missing goats had merely strayed, or had been stolen. An examination of the Dispensary naturally elicited that they had only strayed. Another question was put as to the direction in which they should be looked for. The Dispensary answered, in the north, or the quarter in which they had been lost. These simple folks were well satisfied, and prepared for us cakes of bread ; and after our repast we proceeded for no very great distance, when we came upon a large collection of huts, superior in construction to any we had before met with. There was even much cultivated land. Here my Búlfút had an acquaintance, who pressed us to stay, which we did, although we might have travelled farther.

We did not start until noon next day ; two or three young men intending to accompany us to Súnmiáni, which I found was close at hand. We passed along a pleasant track, and rounding some wooded knolls, entered upon the level plain of Las. A short transit brought us to Súnmiáni, where I was welcomed by my Hindú friends. As my conductor had behaved very properly on the road, I asked him what I should give him as a present, in addition to his camel hire. He selected my lúnghí, that he might make a display with it on his return to his village. It was an old and indifferent one, but I had no other covering to my head, therefore I took a ducat, far beyond the lúnghí's value, and told him he might take which he pleased. He was



for some time undecided, looking at the lúnghí and then at the gold; finally, summoning resolution, he said, he would have the Patán's lúnghí. I gave it to him; and making his little purchases, he left, to pass the night at the place we had started from in the morning.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Residence at Súnmiání.—Departure.—Theft at Shékh-ka-ráj.—  
 Utal.—Osmán-di-Got.—Béla.—Murder of Mogal merchant.—  
 Conference.—Slaughter of Minghal and Bizúnjú chiefs.—Permis-  
 sion to levy duties.—Lawless state.—Prohibition to káfila.—  
 Háji Gúl Máhoméd's disregard of prohibition.—Káfila.—Mírza  
 Isák.—Saiyads.—Merchants.—Badragars.—Deception.—Inci-  
 dent.—Compromise.—Departure from Béla.—Robbers.—Bárán  
 Lak.—Walí Máhoméd.—His remonstrances.—His high feeling  
 —His good offices.—His liberality.—His fate.—Isá Khán.—Bi-  
 zúnjú chief.—Fortune of káfila.—Kála Dara.—Plain of Wad.—  
 Benefit of badragars.—Hill people.—Khozdár.—Attempt at im-  
 posture.—Sohráb.—Rodinjoh.—Kalát.—Reject invitation to  
 stay.—Mangarchar.—Shéhidán.—Baloches.—Trick played  
 them.—Their anger.—Khwoja Amrán hills.—Plants.—Wild  
 tulips.—Shoráwak.—Killa Mír Alam Khán.—Passes.—Tribes.  
 —Villages.—Borders.—Arrival of Baloches.—Their mission.—  
 Reply of the Afgháns.—Canals.—Hissárg hú.—Atehak Zai.—  
 Harír.—Chajar.—Káréz Illaiyár.—Atehak Zai travellers.—  
 Application for duty.—Robbery in mistake.—Simplicity of  
 Mámá's servants.—Takht Púl.—Saline marsh.—Arghasán.—  
 Khósh-áb.—Tomb of Páhindar Khán.—Kándahár.—Recogni-  
 tion.—Consequences.—Expedition to Daráwat.—Escape of Mír  
 Alam Khán's son.—Fears of Sirdárs.—Results of the expedition.  
 —Arrange to leave Kándahár.—Climate.—Death of Fúr Dil  
 Khán.—Abbás Mírza's envoy.—Insolent letter.—Envoy's pre-  
 sumption.—His treatment.—Reports and rumours.—Unpopu-  
 larity and dissensions of the sirdars.—Mehu Dil Khán's hypo-  
 crisy.

KALIKDAD in two or three days joined me at Sún-  
 miání, made some sales, and returned to Karáchí.

I resided, as in my former visit, on the best terms with the people, but fearful that a long abode might impair my health, improved by the journey from Kalât, I was anxiously awaiting an opportunity again to proceed to the north. In process of time, many merchants, and others, arrived from Bombay and Sind, and it was arranged to form a kâfila to pass through the Minghal and Bízúnjú hills. I resolved to accompany it, and bargained with an owner of camels, named Soh, to carry me in a kajâwa (a kind of pannier) to Kâbal. The bulk of the kâfila was destined to Kalât and Kândahâr, but there were three or four Níází Afghâns, who dwelt near Kâbal, and purposed to reach it by the route of Shâll and Toba. I agreed to take my chance with them. We moved on to Châghai, three cosses from Súnmiání, and thence to Shékh-ka-ráj, a village of sixty houses, with a few Hindú shops.

A camel was here stolen from our kâfila during the night; nor was the animal recovered. On representation to the principal of the village, he avowed his inability to procure restitution, and alleged, that under the present lax government of Las, robbers had become so daring as to carry off cattle from his villagers.

Although we started from Shékh-ka-ráj about an hour before sunset, we reached Utal, ten cosses distant, only after midnight. This is a small town of about three hundred houses, with a great proportion of Hindús. It is pleasantly enough situated

amid groves of kikars; and the country around is well cultivated with júári, sircham (rape), and the cotton-plant. Water supplied from wells. Provisions, in moderate quantities, are procurable here, and honey is reasonable and abundant. Utal contributes four thousand rupees annually to the revenue of Béla.

We next proceeded to a spot, without name, on the bank of a dry ravine. We marched before sunset, and did not halt until after sunrise next morning, but our passage had been much obstructed by trenches and embankments across the road. Water was found, of bad quality, in a well.

At this place many of the camels strayed, but were recovered. We again marched before sunset, and did not reach Osmân-dí-Got, our destination, until considerably after sunrise the next morning. Water from a pond.

Thence, a short march took us to Béla, and we fixed ourselves immediately north of the town.

A delay was occasioned here by the necessity of engaging badragars, or safe-guards, to conduct the kâfila through the Bráhuí tribes of the hills. In the time of Máhmúd Khân, the father of the present Méhráb Khân of Kalât, a Mogal merchant, passing from Kalât to Béla, was plundered and slain. On intelligence being carried to the Afghân government, a vakíl was despatched to Kalât, demanding satisfaction for the outrage; which was promised. Máhmúd Khân repaired to Khozdár,



and encamped, summoning to his presence the several Minghal and Bízúnjú chiefs of the hills. At an audience, the khân, with the Afghân vakíl sitting by his side, required restitution of the stolen property, and the surrender of the murderers. In course of debate, one of the leaders observing to Máhmúd Khân that he did not comport himself as an íl, or brother of the Baloch race, the Afghân vakíl rose on his knees, and grasping his sword, which was lying before him, asked how a subject could dare address such language to his sovereign? The Bráhuí leaders, crying out that they were betrayed, instantly retired from the tent to an adjacent tappa, or eminence. Máhmúd Khân ordered the nagáras to beat to arms, and the tappa to be surrounded. The Bráhuí leaders were slain, to a man; and popular report has associated with their slaughter the manifestation of a miracle. A shower of rain fell, but only over the tappa, which extinguished the matches of the devoted men, and left them a helpless sacrifice to their assailants. Some time after this signal display of justice, Máhmúd Khân, excited by compassion, granted to the sons, or representatives of those slain on the occasion, permission to levy small transit-fees on kâfilas, on their guarantee to respect property themselves, and to be responsible for robberies committed within their respective limits. The aggregate of these transit-fees did not exceed four rupees. Latterly, owing to the embarrassment of the Khân of Kalât,

the Bráhuís of the hills levy at discretion, and a camel-load of merchandize is not cleared from Béla to Khozdár under a less amount than twenty-three or twenty-four rupees. Moreover, the assumption of independence, and disregard of authority, has produced a licentiousness of conduct to the individuals of kâfilas, especially to Afghâns and others, not Baloches; and badragars are indispensable, both to ensure safety and to prevent interminable disputes and wrangling. The growing insolence of the tribes was brought to notice in the conferences at Sohrâb last year. The amount they benefited by the passage of kâfilas throughout the year, was ascertained, and found, I think, to be so high as ninety thousand rupees. To diminish this serious burthen on the trade of the country, as well as to punish the tribes for their contempt of authority, and refusal to furnish the prescribed military contingents, it was decided to prohibit kâfilas from passing through their hills. Accordingly, Mehrâb Khân interdicted the road, under penalty of confiscation of property, to those who followed it in defiance of orders. In the early part of this year Hâjî Gúl Máhommed, Andarí, one of the most considerable of the merchants at Kândahár, either ignorant of the khân's order, or, more likely, regardless of it, presuming on his influence at Kândahár, being connected with Khodâ Nazzar, the múkhtahár of the sirdárs, engaged badragars, and proceeded to Kalât. The kâfila with which I was now in company conceived

they were privileged to infringe the khân's mandate, as Hâji Gúl Máhommed had done so with impunity before them. It consisted of a great number of Peshing saiyads, some merchants of Kândahár, and a few other Afghâns, with numerous Baloches, natives of Kalât and the vicinity, men who were returning to their homes after three or four years' service in the Dekkan, or other parts of India, or who had carried horses and dogs for sale to Bombay. The Afghân and Kândahár people only had merchandize, consisting of fine calicoes, muslins, shawls, chintzes, &c. Among the Kândahâris was one Mírza Isâk, in the employ of Abdúlâh Khân, the Atchak Zai sirdâr, who, from his superior address, officiated as secretary, treasurer, and diplomatic agent to the kâfila. He was a Pârsivân and Shîa, but on the road repeated prayers in company with the Súnis, as did two or three other Pârsivâns of Kândahár. The saiyads of Peshing, a rude boisterous class of men, but imperious from their acknowledged lineage, were entrusted with the direction of the kâfila as regarded its motion. The order to prepare for marching was given by the most eminent of them, in a loud voice, and was followed by his benediction. Amongst the merchants of Kândahár, the more respectable were, Martezza Khân, Bárak Zai, residing at Chaplání, a village south of Kândahár, and Yár Máhommed Tâjik, a dweller at Kárezak, a village east of the same city. There were also three Níází Af-



ghâns of Kâbal, who had a load of muslins, and another of glass bangles; and these last were especially my companions. Four badragars, Minghal and Bízúnjú, were engaged, one of them, Réhimdád, a younger brother of Isâ Khân, the superior chief of the Minghals at Wad. One hundred and twenty rupees were paid for their attentions, and their entertainment on the road was to be provided at the charge of the kâfila. The number of loads liable to payment was fixed at thirty-five, although there were above forty. The proprietors made a deposit in the hands of Mírza Isâk, to meet the demands throughout the journey. The load of bangles, consisting of two long packages, secured by bábús, was represented as containing tábúts, or corpses, the veracity of which was not suspected.

Near the spot at which we halted at Béla was a well. One evening a masdúr, or servant of the Peshing saiyads, going to fill his massak, or skin, with water, met a female, of agreeable countenance, returning from the well with a jar of water on her head. He profited by the fair one's situation, and kissed her. The jar was precipitated to the ground and broken to pieces. The girl ran screaming into the fort; and proved to be a kaníz, or slave girl of the infant Jám's mother. Application was made to the kâfila for delivery of the offender, who was traced to the party of the saiyads. They refused to give up the man, as he, like themselves, was a descendant of the Prophet. Indeed,



every camel-driver belonging to them claimed the same honour. In the evening a party of armed men from the fort forcibly carried off five camels. The affair was ultimately compromised; the officers of Las observing sarcastically, yet truly, "That although the Peshinghís might be *saiyads*, they were uncouth, and *saiyads* of the hills."

In my former journey to Kalât from Béla we had travelled rapidly, being unencumbered with merchandize; in the present one the Peshing *saiyads*, anxious to reach their homes, pushed on much more speedily than was agreeable to the Baloch part of the *kâfila*, who, although dissatisfied, only ventured gently to murmur, fearing the maledictions of the holy men.

From Béla we marched to the Púrálí river, near the hills; then passing Koharn Wât, we encamped within them; and the third march brought us to a spot called Selloh—from which we made Márjít Illaibakhsh. On the road, and we travelled by night, some robbers darted on the hindmost pedestrians of the *kâfila*, not to plunder on a grand scale, but to snatch anything that fell in their way, and make off. One of them seized the *lúngí* on the head of one Khairú, walking behind the string of camels. Khairú had hold of one end, and the robber of the other. They both pulled, and Khairú roared out "Thieves! thieves!" The camel-drivers in advance hastened to his assistance, with horrible imprecations, but they could not save the *lúngí*,

which the Bráhuí made off with. Our halting-place was on a small open space, with a large burial-ground and rud-khâna, from which we got water, to our right.

We then proceeded to the base of the Pass Bá-rân Lak, and found water in the rocky bed of a hill-torrent. The next day we ascended the Pass, not particularly extensive or precipitous, yet sufficiently so to impede the progress of heavily-laden camels. The detentions and accidents happening gave occasion to the camel-drivers to wish that the Feringhis would come and take the country, that the roads might be improved. While at the halting-place, Walí Máhomed, one of the principal Minghal chiefs resident at Wad, with Tâj Máhomed, another chief of consequence, and a few attendants, the whole mounted, by pairs, on running camels, passed the kâfila. Walí Máhomed was a venerable aged gentleman, with a white beard. On the merchants advancing to salute him, he rebuked them for coming by this road, in opposition to the khân's orders. He observed, that had they only abandoned the route one year, the insolent men of the hills would have been reduced to have supplicated them to resume it; that the khân had prohibited the route for their benefit, and they were so inconsiderate as to thwart the khân's good intentions. Réhimdad Khân, his relative, with the other badragars, appearing to pay their respects, his anger was inflamed at the sight of them, and

he asked the merchants if those kúramsáks, or scoundrels, had intruded themselves or had been engaged with good will. On being answered, with good-will, he rejoined, that such unprincipled persons as these, for the sake of their badragars' fees, were accessory to the present unsettled state of the roads, as they acted in concert with the Bráhuís, and instigated them to acts of violence and rapine. The merchants much pressed the old chief to alight, and take his noon's repast with them, but he declined, asserting that the bread of strangers was to him arám, or unlawful. This excellent character was proceeding to Béla, to arrange an affair of bloodshed.

A few years since, a kâfila, in progress to Kâlât, was detained at Wad, the tribes intermediate between it and Khozdár having taken up arms. Walí Máhomed, lamenting the detention of the merchants, voluntarily escorted them to Khozdár. On arrival there, they debated upon the manner of expressing their gratitude for his unsolicited kindness, and collected two hundred rupees, which they placed in a silk handkerchief and tendered to their benefactor. He refused the present; nor could any entreaty induce him to accept it. It was still urged upon him, when he remarked, that if any amongst them had bandar nâs, or Bombay snuff, he would receive a small quantity, not as a gift to which he was entitled, but as a mark of their favour. The money he could not think



of. The snuff, it need hardly be noted, was collected, placed in ballaghúns, and presented to the chief, who received it with many thanks. Walí Máhomed is the uncle of Isâ Khân, the present head of the Minghals; and his exertions to repress disorder and keep his nephew in a right course, have not the success they merit. Isâ Khân has a large number of retainers, and has all the restless spirits of the tribe in his party, and is thereby enabled to counteract the honest views of Walí Máhomed and the better disposed of the tribe. Had the kâfila met Isâ Khân, it would have been superfluous to have asked him to become a guest. Ten years of increased age and honour had grown upon the loyal and upright Walí Máhomed, when, at the capture of Kalât, he fell, sword in hand, by the side of his prince, Mehráb Khân. His honourable death was worthy of his unblemished life. But we may regret the policy which numbered so estimable a chief amongst its victims.

At this place we expected a visit from a Bízúnjú chief, residing near Náll, who is, or considers himself to be, entitled to levy transit-fees. He is represented as a man of extreme brutality, and infamous for his outrages on kâfilas and insolence to Afghâns, of whom, it would seem, he has a horror. To suffer mere abuse at his hands is esteemed peculiarly fortunate; and there were two or three persons, one amongst them a saiyad, who



had been, on former occasions, wounded by this man and his followers. The ogre of the Bízúnjús, did not, however, make his appearance; and we understood afterwards, that the tribe were in arms, and at variance amongst themselves, so that one party did not dare move abroad, or it would be attacked by another. This state of affairs probably benefited the káfila, with regard to the fees payable to the Bízúnjús of Náll, and which are at the heavy rate of two rupees per load. No one applied for them.

In the succeeding march to the garden of Isâ Khân, north of Wad, we passed up the fine valley of Kála Dara, noticed in my prior narrative. It was gay with its olive and beautiful perpúk-trees. I observed also, that there were several gohar bastas in it. Although we started before sunset, and were in motion all night, it was not until some time after sunrise next morning that having left behind the little town of Wad, we reached the garden, chiefly stocked with apricot-trees, with some mulberry, plum, and peach trees. At this early period of the year all bore unripe fruit, the mulberries and apricots of considerable size. The plain of Wad exhibited a very different appearance from the dreary one under which I had formerly seen it. The cultivation of grain had clad it in verdure, and I was no less delighted than surprised to behold the sterile surface covered with a profusion of thorny plants, either identical with, or closely allied to,

the English furze. There was another, but thornless bush, which was alike charged with yellow blossoms, and the gratified vision extended over an expanse of vegetable gold. We here parted with our badragars. These men were certainly useful, as the numerous and clamorous Bráhuís applying for fees were referred to them. If the number of loads was suspected as being underrated, they were told, "We (the badragars) are, like you, leviers of transit-fees. We are satisfied, why should you not be?" In no one instance was the kâfila put to inconvenience, nor did any one of the applicants for fees insist upon having the loads counted. Men of little conscience, they showed that they had some, and were satisfied with the badragars' statement. Throughout this journey we had much intercourse with the natives of the hills. I must say that, however rude, they appeared honest. At all our halting-places traffic by barter was carried on, the individuals of the party supplying themselves with sheep, roghan, and lacteal preparations, giving in exchange párchá, or coarse cotton cloth, spices, and turmeric. The latter article is much in request, being used to dye wool, as well as a condiment, and cloth is prized because none is manufactured amongst them. From Wad, halting intermediately at the head of Míán Dara, we moved on to Khozdár. Here fees were received by an officer of Méhráb Khán, called the Náib. A person was willing to have imposed himself on

the merchants as an agent of the Bízúnjús of Náll. He consequentially came, with a scroll of paper in his hand, and seemed busy in counting the loads, and scribbling down the results. In this no one interrupted him. He then inquired as to the contents of the loads, when he was told, the trouble he was giving himself was useless, and he had better return to his colleague in dexterity, the náib. The fellow, ashamed, went his way. Khozdár had a beautiful appearance in the vernal season.

In our next march we passed Bâghwân, and again halted at a spot between it and Sohráb. The hills were now covered with the flowers of early bulbous plants, which relieved their otherwise bleak appearance. The valley of Sohráb was alike interesting from the luxuriant verdure of its lucern fields.

From Sohráb we marched to Damb, and experienced a severe storm of wind and rain. The next stage was Rodinjob, where we found the plains smiling with the varied and gaudy blossoms of the lâla, or wild tulip. The following day we reached Kalât before daybreak, and making the circuit of its walls, halted in the rear of the mîrí, or palace of the khân. I visited my old friends, and they dissuaded me from attempting the route through the Khâka country to Kâbal, as the Khâkas were engaged in internal hostilities.

Kalât now presented a dreary aspect. The willow and sanjít-trees were alone leafed. Mulberry and other trees only bore indications of nascent

foliage. Mehráb Khân heard of my arrival, and wished to see my blúts, or pictures. I regretted that I could not oblige him, having left them with my luggage at Súnmiání. Faiz Ahmed much pressed me to stay some time at Kalât, but I would not listen to his proposal, and thought it better to accompany the portion of the present kâfila going on to Kândahár, particularly as I found it would take the route of Shoráwak, a part of the country I was desirous to see.

We parted from our companions, the saiyads and Bráhuís; and the Kândahár party made a long journey from Kalât to the foot of the hills confining on the west the plain of Mangarchar. There were no habitations, but the bed of a rúd-khána furnished us with water. In our next march we crossed the hills by a rather long and difficult pass. The descent brought us into a tanghí, or defile, of some extent; clearing which, we passed over an uneven surface amongst low hills, or eminences, until we halted on the bank of a rúd-khána, with a small stream in it. This journey occupied us from before sunset to sunrise of the next morning.

Our course now led over a low range of hills, by a pass, long but easy. On its summit was a shéhi-dân, or grave, of two men, slain the former year by robbers. The men of the kâfila strewed mountain-flowers over them, and craved that a similar fate might not await themselves. I understood there was danger in this march, and the merchants showed



they felt it. From the pass the road became better, and we passed a *rúd-khâna* with a stream in it. At a more advanced season it was said to have none. We were still in motion when we were joined by three or four Baloches, who claimed a transit-fee, the due of a petty Baloch chief residing at *Chahârdéh*, to our west. With the insolence of men in authority, they commanded the *kâfila* to halt, and called for the chillam and tobacco. The Afghâns waggishly filled the chillam with chirs, and the Baloches, unaccustomed thereto, as if by enchantment, fell asleep, and the *kâfila* left them snoring in happy oblivion on the ground. We halted a little after midnight at *Lagai*, near a *kârez*. Near us was a small rectangular walled residence, and a square tower, with a newly-planted garden. Here during the day arrived the Baloches, furious on account of having been outwitted, and of having been put to the trouble of following the *kâfila*. They were not much pitied, and receiving their fees, went their way.

We commenced our next journey very early—the reason I soon discovered, as we had to cross the great range of *Khwojâ Amrân*. A short distance brought us to its base; and it was yet daylight when we reached the summit, from which was a fine view of the regions around. I observed here the *ferula asafoetida*, and the various other *ferulas* to be found on the hills of *Balochistân*. A round-leafed variety of *rhubarb* was also abundant; and this plant had

been common amongst the hills since our leaving Mangarchar. The descent of the pass was at first very precipitous, but led into a dara, with a continual but very gradual inclination. In some parts of it were vast numbers of wild tulips, or lálas, red and yellow; and many varieties of the orchis, from which the former are distinguished by black spots on their petals. As we proceeded down the dara we passed a large mountain-willow; hence, I presume, the trivial name conferred upon this pass, of Kotal Béd, or the Willow Pass. Night commenced as we entered this dara, but it was daybreak before we cleared it and found ourselves on the plain of Shoráwak. We made for a substantial castle, called Killa Mír Alam Khán, having been built by that nobleman, a Núr Zai sirdár, who was slain by the Vazír Fatí Khán, his brother-in-law. We halted in front of it. The castle was large, and neatly constructed of mud. It had eight towers, each face having an intermediate one between the angular ones. We had in view five or six other castles, and were told, that, altogether, there were twenty castles and villages in Shoráwak. We had close to us a canal, derived from the Lora river, which flows from the plain of Peshing, through the range we had crossed into Shoráwak, and fertilizes its fields. Without it Shoráwak would be a part of the desert, which surrounds it to the south and west. The pass which we had surmounted is one of four, leading over the Khwojá Amrán range. Beyond it is the Kotal

Shútar, or the Camel Pass, which some of the people with our kâfila had crossed, and represented as tolerable. Above it is the Kotal Roghanní; and beyond it is the one most frequented, called Kotal Kozhak, being in the direct road from Kândahár to Sháll. Shoráwak is inhabited by the Bâréchí tribe of Afghâns, dependent on Kândahár, and is generally under the control of the governor of Peshing. It has six principal villages, called Mandú Zai, Abú Zai, Bahâdar Zai, Alí Zai, Badal Zai, and Sherrári. It is probable, although I am not certain of it, that these villages bear the names of the divisions of the tribe. On the west its boundary is well defined by the Khwojá Amrán hill. On the north it has low unconnected hills, separating it from sterile sandy tracts, inhabited by Atchak Zais, and other Afghâns; to the south the sand desert separates it from Núshkí; and to the west again extends the same ocean of sand. In this direction the horizon is uninterrupted by hills, the only hill visible being a low isolated black peak, bearing north-west. The Bâréchís are at deadly enmity with the Baloch tribes. The day we passed here six or seven Baloches arrived, wishing to procure the restitution of some camels, recently stolen by the Bâréchís, and to enter into an arrangement for future friendship. As soon as the Baloches drew near, a party of the Bâréchís assembled, and, kneeling, presented their matchlocks, threatening to fire. Two of the most elderly of the Baloches, laying down their fire-arms,



advanced to parley. This was ineffectual. The Báréchís refused the restitution of the stolen animals, and alleged, that between themselves and the Baloches differences existed which could only be settled by a pitched battle between the two úlúses. That they were willing to attend at any time and place the Baloches might appoint. If these terms were not approved, matters must remain as they were, each party, as opportunity offered, resorting to aggression. We here learned the degradation of Abdúlah Khân, the Atchak Zai sirdár, by the chiefs of Kândahár. Various reasons were alleged, but there was a sufficient one in his reputed wealth. The inhabitants here were civil to the members of the kâfila, and exchanged their necessities for spices, cloth, and turmeric.

Before we left the plain of Shoráwak we crossed perhaps as many as fifteen or twenty canals, all derived from the Lora river, also the stream itself. It had but a small body of water, but the bed was very wide, and not sunken, as in the plain of Peshing. Winding amongst the hills, the road always level, we traversed a sandy tract, diversified with small hillocks, until midnight, when we halted at a spot named Hissárghú. We saw no habitations here, but were visited by many Afgháns, miserable indeed, if their raiments truly denoted their condition. They bartered their young lambs and roghan with the kâfila, cheerfully receiving in exchange tobacco and turmeric. They were Atchak Zais. Our water



was procured from a pool. About a mile to our west were some black rocks, and beyond them was a waste of pure sand. The track between Shoráwak and this place seemed, indeed, in dispute between the desert and the main land.

Our next march was over a country analogous to the preceding, but we crossed the dry beds of several ravines and water-courses. We again halted at midnight in a small plain named Harír, encircled by low sand-hills. These were sprinkled with bushes, whose dark verdure afforded a strong contrast to the pale colour of the ungrateful soil in which they grew. Water was again in pools, and muddy, being merely a deposit from rains. No habitations were visible.

We left Harír before sunset, and proceeding the entire night over a level surface, found ourselves at daybreak on the banks of immense ravines, full of water. This spot was called Chajar. We had to cross it, which was no easy matter. Having effected our passage, we marched, still in a ravine, through a morass studded with tamarisk-bushes. At length we entered, lengthways, upon a spacious level plain between low parallel hills; those to the west being of pure sand, or covered therewith, those to the east of bare black rock. The plain at its commencement was stony. We passed a deserted mud castle on our right, and soon after halted near some forty black tents of the Atchak Zai Afghâns. There were two or three detached mud dwellings lower

down on the plain, which was extensively cultivated. Water was excellent, and procured from a káréz, which, with its projector, gave a name to the place of Káréz Illaiyár. The Atchak Zais were remarkably civil, and amongst them were some respectable men. Necessaries were, as usual, exchanged, and we regaled ourselves with young lambs. Some of our companions in the kâfila were Atchak Zais, who had been absent some years, seeking their fortunes in India. The joy of these men was great on returning to their homes; and I smiled as I heard them assure their friends that wherever they had been, and they had seen the Dekkan and Bombay, they had met no people to be compared with the Atchak Zais, and none who could boast of such khorák (food), or such poshák (raiment). In the course of the day a herd of camels belonging to Khodâ Nazzar, or Máma, as he is generally called, arrived here to graze. It also chanced, that two men, on the part of Hássan Khân, an Atchak Zai chief, came and demanded a fee of one sennár per load. To this, by prior regulations, he was entitled; but the individuals of the kâfila, aware of Abdúlah Khân's seizure, and that the orders had been rescinded, refused to pay it. The messengers, intent on retaliation, drove off a camel belonging to Khodâ Nazzar's herd, supposing it to belong to the kâfila.

We moved from Káréz Illaiyár before sunset; at the extremity of the plain was an old tower,

a chokí, or guard-station. Here the servants of Khodá Nazzar had awaited us, and issuing forth, wished to detain the kâfila until a camel was given, whimsically, but truly, asserting that the Atchak Zais had driven off their master's animal in error. The merchants did not seem to care for them or the vazír, and we left them in very bad humour to rectify the mistake of Hássan Khân's úlús. Round- ing a small hill, we entered another spacious but barren plain, and at sunset had reached Takht Púl, a spot where kâfilas frequently halt. Here we fell into the high road, at the point where it leads by Robát to Peshing and Sháll. By daybreak we had reached the village of Káréz Hâjí, the houses all covered with domes. Here was abundance of water in canals, and much cultivation. We then deviated from the high road and struck across a swampy plain, unfruitful and unfit for tillage from its saline impregnations, but at this time of the year of charming appearance, its surface being covered with the beautiful blossoms of the fish, a bulbous-rooted plant, from whose roots the paste called shírish is made. Its flowers are both white and yellow, and hang on a taper stalk like those of the hyacinth. We crossed the Arghasân, and halted on its bank. The river's bed was wide, but the stream was in- considerable, though rapid and impetuous. Mar- tezza Khân here left us for Chaplání, his village on the edge of the desert, a little south of us, as did Tâj Máhoméd the Tâjik merchant.



At midday my companions, eager to conclude the journey and rejoin their friends, continued their course over the plain, crossing many canals of irrigation, some of them large, to the village of Khúsh-âb, containing several houses, but chiefly ruinous, and thence we gained the summit of a slight ascent over a low hill, called Kotal Zákkar, from which we had a noble view of the city, with its environs. At the foot of the pass was the large and straggling village of Zákkar, with gardens interspersed amongst the houses. Close to it is the tomb of Páhíndáh Khán, slain by Sháh Zemán, and the father of the actual chiefs of Kándahár, Kábal, and Pesháwer. From Zákkar, came to the village of Karij, where some of our party again left us. Thence the road led over the cultivated fields; and we had much ado to thread our way amid them, and over the numerous canals of irrigation. Detached residences, gardens, tombs, and takías we passed on our route, and it was after sunset that we reached the Shikárpúr derwâza, or gate. Here the custom-house officers of Máma were on the alert; and as I had nothing but an ill-filled kúrzín, or saddle-bags, I might have passed unnoticed, and indeed had so passed. One of the camel-drivers, in assisting me to alight, inadvertently stated that I was a Feringhí, on which my kúrzín, camel, and myself, were forthwith conducted to the chabútra, in the centre of the city. I could not induce an immediate examination, as I clearly saw that curi-



osity was to be gratified by a leisurely inspection of a Feringhí's kúrzín. I therefore returned with Soh, the camel-owner, to his house, where I passed the night. The exactions on the score of duty on merchandize coming to Kándahár are infamous. It was useful to see how rapacity and tyranny defeat their own ends. None of the merchants, except two or three Pársívâns actually residing at the city, entered within its walls. They all dispersed with their goods to their several villages.

It was not until the third day after my arrival that Soh brought my kúrzín from the chabútra. A few sheets of writing-paper and a little tea had been subtracted. I found the sirdárs busy in preparing an expedition against Darâwat, the country of the Núr Zais, towards the Helmand. Their darbárs were crowded with the military, and the city was full of Dúrání cavalry. The occasion of this activity was, the escape of the son of Mír Alam Khân, Núr Zai, from captivity. He had long been confined in the Bálla Hissár, and was so dreaded that his feet were secured by fetters. He, however, contrived to elude the vigilance of his keepers, much to their surprise and consternation. He repaired to his native country, and his clan instantly took up arms in his cause. To suppress these movements so near home required the promptest measures, not merely on their own account, but from the apprehensions that the Núr Zais might be acting in concert with Kámrán, the prince of Herát,

and the disaffected Hazáras. The sirdárs had not a moment to lose, and therefore Kândahár exhibited a scene of extraordinary activity and warlike bustle. My stay here did not allow me to learn the result of this expedition, but I became informed of it at Kâbal afterwards. It was anything but fortunate to the sirdárs. On arrival in the Darâwat country, the Núr Zais placed by night lighted matches on the bushes opposite to the Dúrání camp on one side, and attacked it from the other. A panic followed, and the sirdárs, with their troops, fled, abandoning their tents and the four guns they had brought with them. One of the sirdárs, Rahám Dil, was for some days wandering alone amongst the hills, after exchanging clothes with a shepherd, and with difficulty found his way back to Kândahár. I removed my quarters from the house of Soh to that of my old acquaintance Sirafráz Khân. I had arranged to have made the journey to Kâbal in the company of a highly-religious character, the pír, or spiritual guide of Kohan Dil Khân, and this holy man had expressed his pleasure that I should do so; but his departure was postponed to an indefinite time, and I judged better to avail myself of a kâfila about to start, amongst whose members were some well known to Sirafráz Khân. I therefore settled with one Ráhmât for one side of a kajâwa, and I had for companion in the other, Súfí, a Parsíván merchant of Kândahár.

It was now the early part of May, and heavy

showers of rain fell, with occasionally a smart hail-storm. In the bazar lettuces were sold in profusion, with unripe plums and apricots. The winter had been unusually severe and protracted, therefore, mulberries, which in ordinary seasons would have been ripe, were yet hanging immature on the trees. Kândahár is esteemed felicitous in its winter climate, and snow, which remains on all the lands around, rarely falls on its favoured plains, or falls only to melt.

In the interval between my first and present visit, Fúr Dil Khân had been taken away by a fever of short continuance. He was speechless some little time before resigning his vital breath, and no information could be gained from him as to his concealed wealth. His corpse was interred with indecent haste by his surviving brothers, who seized upon all his property in effects and horses, to the detriment of his sons. During his lifetime his brothers had been generally confederated against him, from jealousy of his power; and Kândahár had two darbárs, one of Fúr Dil Khân, and one of his three brothers. Sometimes they would be reconciled by the influence of their mother, or of Khodâ Nazzar, but the periods of harmony and union would be short. Still, while thus at variance on points of individual interest, they would act in concert on the more important objects of foreign policy, as regarded their brother, Dost Máhoméd Khân of Kábal, or the prince Kámran of Herát. About the



time of Fúr Dil Khán's decease, Abbás Mírza, the crown prince of Persia, had arrived in Khorasán, and had despatched a messenger, or envoy, to the elder of the three brothers, Kohan Dil Khán. This envoy was a notorious character, one Hâjî Hússén Alí Khân, Morád Khâní, a native of Kâbal, from whence he had fled, in the time of Máhoméd Azem Khân, to Ranjit Singh. He for some time thrived under the auspices of the Máhárájá, but at length presuming to kill a cow, the fact was reported, and he was dismissed from Lahore. He then repaired to Sind, where he profitably turned his ingenuity to account, by imposing himself as an elchí upon the Amírs, and again, on a mission from them, proceeded to Persia. He now re-appeared on the theatre of diplomacy, and brought a letter from Abbás Mírza to Kohan Dil Khân. The sirdár was highly incensed, as he was addressed with no more dignified appellation and title than "Kohan Dil Khân Abdáli," and the extent of the Persian prince's courtesy had led him to restrict his complimentary introduction to "Háfiyat bashed," or, "May he be well." The letter, moreover, was to the purport, that if the sirdár's conduct was fitting, and such that should merit approbation, he should be made mír of the Afghâns. Kohan Dil Khân thought he was already mír of the Afghâns. Hâjî Hússén Alí Khân, forgetful that he had been a dependent on the family of the sirdár's, and presuming too much on his quality of envoy, gave him-



self many airs, and indulged in undue freedom of speech. One night, however, his house was entered by robbers, and all his property, even to his wearing-apparel, and horses from his stable, were carried off. Kohan Dil Khân was wonderfully surprised in the morning, at the audacity of the robbers, but every one was free to surmise who had sent them. The unfortunate envoy was glad to return to his master on hired cattle. His adventures were now the subject of jocular conversation and merriment at Kândahâr. The sirdárs had given out, in conformity to a favoured system with them of raising false reports, that an elchí from the Feringhís of Hind was on the road to them. It was entirely credited by the people, and before reaching the city, I had often been asked about the expected envoy; and now at it, I was repeatedly questioned as to how far behind was the elchí, with his hundred boxes. The sirdárs, led by their imagined interests to combine in opposition to their deceased brother, Fúr Dil Khân, now that he was no more, were on sad terms with each other. Kohan Dil Khân affected a superiority, which the others did not acknowledge, and all classes of their dependents were disgusted, and harassed at their incessant and unmeaning dissensions. Every now and then Rahám Dil Khân would leave the city, threatening to retire from the country, and his brothers would be induced to wait upon him, and entreat him to remain. Meher Dil Khân, in turn, would declare his in-

tention of renouncing power and of proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and now he was in one of his pious fits much to the enjoyment of his brothers. The man who visited the sirdár on business, and the soldier who attended for his stipend, in reply to their *Salám Alíkam*, would receive the devout ejaculation of "*Yár rasúl Khodâ*;" by which they would understand, that the sirdár was too much absorbed in abstract reveries to be able to occupy himself with worldly affairs. It was always remarked, that Meher Dil Khân, whenever he had the demands of his retainers to satisfy, began to think of a pilgrimage to Mecca.

## CHAPTER IX.

Cordial reception. — Ghúlam Máhomed's temerity. — Shír Dil Khán's daughters. — Leave Kándahár. — Tarnak river. — Sheher Safar. — Tirandáz. — Jeldak. — Ghiljis in revolt. — Quarrelsome visitors. — Hostile indications. — Explanation. — March of káfila. — Killa Rámazân Ohtak. — Visit from Fatí Khán. — Ghowar. — Fatí Khán — His exactions. — Halt. — Design of Killa Rámazân Khán. — Message from Shahábadín Khán. — Lodín. — Old fortress. — Ghiljí iljárí. — Shahábadín Khán — His appearance and costume — His abode at Kháka — Duties. — Their rigid exaction. — Ghiljí tribes. — Ohtaks. — Thokis. — Abúbekr Khél. — Terekis. — Cultivation of the Thokis. — Aspect of country. — Character of tribes. — Their justification. — Turkí origin. — Ferishta's notice. — Ghiljí conquests. — Opposition to Nádir Sháh. — Hússen Khán. — Abdúl Rehmán. — Religious tradition. — Shahábadín Khán's fame — His recent moderation — His sons — Aversion to Dúránís — His pious remarks. — Kháka. — Military force. — Numbers. — Arms. — Shahábadín Khán's policy. — Murder of his son. — Absolution of the murderers. — Súlímán Khél. — Dost Máhomed Khán's scruples. — Precautions. — Preparations to march. — Curious scene. — Fruitless expostulation. — Infant robber. — Valley of Tarnak. — Osmán Ganní. — False alarm. — Quarrel. — Territory of Ghazní. — Shéhídán. — Mokar. — Baffled robbers. — Sir Chishma. — Rivulet. — Obo. — Kárábágh. — Hazáras. — Gúlístán Khán. — Naní. — Ghazní. — Town and bazar. — Citadel. — Traditions. — Rozah and shrine of Súltán Máhomed. — Columns. — Walls. — Gates. — Situation of town. — Artillery. — Fruits. — Revenue. — Wilford's conjectures. — Gardéz and Patan. — Topes. — Sheher Kúrghán. — Ghár Samá Núka. — Lora. — Wardak. — Takia. — River of Loghar. — Shékhábád. — Maidán. — River of Kábal. —

Arghandí.—Killa Kázi.—Chehel Tan.—Killa Topchí Bashi.—  
Friendly greetings.—Baber's tomb.—Approach to Kábal.—Serai  
Zirdád.—Quarters in Bálla Hissár.

My reception by Sirafráz Khân was very cordial, and being in better trim than when we first made acquaintance, he entertained me sumptuously, and I reposed at night under costly coverlets of silk and satin, which I could not prevent being brought forth. With a young man, Ghúlám Máhoméd, his adopted son, I visited the gardens of the neighbourhood, and amongst them a private flower-garden of the sirdár's. Ghúlám Máhoméd knew it was forbidden ground, but finding no one there, ventured to enter it. Immediately after, the daughters of the late Sirdár Shír Dil Khân came, with their female attendants. The latter severely scolded my companion for his impertinent intrusion and insolence, and, sadly disconcerted, he went away. I was following him, but was told I might remain, the females observing, that they knew I should not have come had not Ghúlám Máhoméd brought me, and telling the sirdár's daughters, charming young girls, that I was a yár, or friend, of Máhoméd Sídik Khân.

As my stay was so short, I did not call upon the son of Kohan Dil Khân, who was, besides, busy in his preparations for the expedition against the Núr Zais; and for the same reason I did not see the son of Taimúr Kúlí Khân, but was pleased to hear that his affairs were more prosperous, inas-



much as the sirdárs had conferred a little notice upon him, which would soothe his pride and flatter his vanity.

In company with Ráhmát, I left Kândahár, and passing Déh Khwoja and Koh Zákka, reached Déh Mandisár, where he resided. I there found my future companion, Súfí, and Ghowâr, an Ohtak Ghiljí, also proceeding to Kâbal. The kâfila had preceded us; and the next day, following it, we halted on the banks of the Tarnak river. We thence made a long night-march, parallel to the course of the stream, and again rested on its bank, the high road being on the opposite side.

Before sunset we moved on our journey, and soon passed, to the right, a huge artificial platform of earth, which supported another of inferior dimensions. A similar vestige, but smaller, occurs a little east of Kâbal. It would appear, on a cursory view, to have been a fortress, with the walls erected on the two stages formed, but may as probably have been a temple, and sepulchral locality of the olden inhabitants. A little beyond, we crossed the river and gained the high road. In our farther progress, we passed the village and zíárat of Khél Akhúnd, and beyond it, an eminence right of the road, denoting the site of Sheher Safar, about half a mile beyond which we halted. By this time the day had dawned. There are at present no inhabited houses near Sheher Safar,

but a few ruinous mud walls are seen to the right of the road. The modern village was destroyed by the Vazír Fatí Khán, and has not been re-edified. Sheher Safar has been supposed to represent the ancient city of Zupha, noted in the Peutingerian tables, but merely from a doubtful affinity in name.

Our next march was along the bank of the Tarnak. A little beyond Sheher Safar was a small garden and some ruinous walls left of the road. The hills on the right of the valley are generally detached, and of broken rugged outlines. The soil on either side of the river was under cultivation. We finally halted near the column, or obelisk, called Tīrandáz, between the road and the Tarnak, which has been already noticed in the first volume.

The following day we reached Jeldak, where we found the kâfila, this being the frontier village of the Kándahár territory. Our entire course had been along the bank of the river.

We here received intelligence that Badradín, one of the sons of Shahábadín Khán, the chief of the Thokí Ghiljís, was in rebellion, and marching about the country with his followers. This news much perplexed us, and made it doubtful whether it was prudent to advance. Early one morning a party of Ghiljí horsemen came, on the part of Fatí Khán, Abúbekr Khíl, a Ghiljí chief, who claims a transit-fee from kâfilas. These men, on dismounting, quar-

relled among themselves, and swords were drawn in a trice. By interposition, bloodshed was prevented. The kâfila, uncertain whether they would proceed, would not pay the required fees, which were unnecessary if the frontier was not passed. The Ghiljís were very anxious to receive them in any case; but, although refused, an entertainment was provided for them. While they were yet with the kâfila, parties of armed men, from the neighbouring villages behind the hills on our left, came and seated themselves on their summits with their matchlocks. The Ghiljís, who are at enmity with all their neighbours, first suspected that these hostile indications were on their account; but it proved that the villagers had assembled to avenge on the kâfila an outrage, committed by one of its members on a villager, who had been beaten at a flour-mill. Explanation was made that the offender was a saiyad, which led to an understanding; and the villagers, who had assumed so warlike an attitude, ran laughing down the hills to the kâfila, and blew away their enmity with whiffs of tobacco.

The kâfila loaded about an hour before sunset, as was supposed, for the purpose of returning to Kándahár, and many had proceeded a little way on the road thither; when the kâfila báshí, observing that the Ghiljís, bad as they were, were not ádamkhors, or cannibals, took the string of his front camel, and followed the Kábal road. He was imitated by Ráhmat, and eventually by all



the others. We marched the whole night along the bank of the river, which, at daybreak, leaving the high road, we crossed, and passing a small village, and then a rûd-khâna, gained Killa Râmazân Khân, Ohtak, where we halted. This castle belongs to a Ghiljî, in the service of the Kân-dahâr chiefs. During the day we were visited by the Abúbekr Khél chief, Fatí Khân himself, with about twenty horsemen. His fees were somewhat high,—three rupees for a camel, two rupees for a horse, and one rupee for an ass; twenty rupees in addition were presented as mímânî, to avoid the trouble of preparing food for the party, as the Ghiljîs are not easily-satisfied guests. The money matters were arranged with comparative facility, considering the character of the collectors. Two or three Pársivân camel-drivers, indeed, received a horse-whipping. My companion, Ghowar, the Ohtak, proved of great service, as he was well known; and the Ohtak is the superior tribe of the Ghiljîs, and held in respect by the others. He instructed me to remain quiet in my quarters; and, in reply to one of the horsemen, who asked who I was, replied that I was a fáquí from Rûm Shâm. This elicited the remark of “dhér pardés dí,” or “he is a great stranger.” Fatí Khân resides near Kalât Ghiljî, which was here distant from three to four miles to the north. He was an elderly man, of smart respectable appearance. He has a sister, married to Shâh Sújah, the ex-king,



the mother of his eldest son, prince Taimúr. It was originally the custom that transit-fees on kâfilas coming from Kândahár were received by him, and fees on those coming from Kâbal by Shahâbadín Khân. Latterly, profiting by the distracted state of affairs in these countries, he levies from all kâfilas, coming or going, as does his brother-chief, and enemy. Fatí Khân is considered inimical by the sirdárs of Kândahár, particularly, perhaps, on account of his connexion with Shâh Sújah, and his exaction of transit-fees is not made with their consent or sanction: kâfilas think it better to pay them than to incur the risk of being plundered altogether. Fatí Khân also is obliged to be on the alert; as, if a kâfila pass beyond Killa Rámazân Khân, he would not dare to follow it, and would lose his fees. A kâsid was hence despatched to Shahâbadín Khân to learn the true state of affairs in the Ghiljí district, and whether he would protect the kâfila's advance.

Awaiting the reply of Shahâbadín Khân, our stay here was sufficiently agreeable. We had a kárez of excellent water flowing near us, and we procured our little supplies from a collection of tents contiguous. There were also two or three Hindús within the castle. To our left, beyond a rúd-khâna, were low hills, from whose summit a fine view was obtained of Kalât Ghiljí, and the valley of the Tarnak, also of the village of Lodín. On our right, in like manner, on ascending the rises, we beheld

some villages and castles, with their gardens. Killa Rámazân Khân, was built by its proprietor, at the suggestion of the Kândahár sirdárs, with the view of yielding protection to kâfilas, and thereby to induce them to adopt the route by it, instead of following the high one along the course of the Tarnak. This was hoped would prevent the collection of transit-fees by the Abúbekr Khél Ghiljís. How the scheme had answered we were witnesses, as the Ghiljís had first come to the village within the Kândahár boundary, and had now collected their supposed droits from under the walls of the castle. At length, by night, a horseman arrived stealthily from Shahábadín Khân, announcing his approach in person, and that he would place himself between the kâfila and his son, who must first defeat him ere he had it in his power to interfere with them. He wished the kâfila to march the following day.

In the evening we therefore started, and soon entered the bed of a rúd-khâna which we traced for some distance, and arrived in a line with the village of Lodín, about three miles distant to our left, where, we understood, the refractory son of Shahábadín Khân had taken position. Traversing a small extent of plain, we fell into another rúd-khâna, with hills on either side, up whose bed we continued our journey for a long time. On the hills to our right were the remains of an ancient fortress of considerable magnitude. We at length passed the úlús

infantry of Shahâbadîn Khân. They were lying, or rather resting on the ground, on their knees and hands, covered with their uncouth kozahs, or white felt cloaks. They made many demands for tobacco, with which it was necessary to comply. From their language it might be understood that they would have been better pleased to have plundered than to have protected the kâfila. Some of their expressions were so reckless and violent that the men of the kâfila blessed themselves in horror. They were, indeed, crouching on the earth like so many tigers, and are probably not a whit more humane in disposition. They are, however, as men, a sturdy and superior race. Soon after getting rid of them we passed the spot where Shahâbadîn Khân was passing the night. Here we did not stay, but proceeding some distance beyond, at daybreak halted on an open space, whence we could discern no habitation, or sign of it.

In the morning we were joined by Shahâbadîn Khân and his cavalry, about one hundred and fifty in number. They halted, and cooked their provisions. Everything that they required was taken from the men of the kâfila with the greatest effrontery. The khân sat on an eminence, and received the salutations of the kâfila bâshî, and others. With the view of preventing delay at his castle, it was wished to have paid at this place the amount of transit-fees due; but the khân would not consent to receive it. A little after noon the kâfila was in



motion, Shahābadīn Khān covering the march. I had now a favourable opportunity of seeing this celebrated Ghiljī chief. He was, apparently, about sixty years of age, very robust, but active, and of stern, sanguine, manly countenance. His attire was plain. A lúnghí was bound around his head, and a fargal, or upper robe of white linen, only distinguished him from his attendants. On his right hand was riding his younger son (for he has many sons), and it may be presumed his more favoured one, and he was apparelled more gaily, as was becoming the taste of youth and his father's regard. Our road was throughout level, but over a barren sandy tract, with slight hills and rises on either side, but we passed no house or cultivation until towards evening. In one spot the khān directed the kâfila to pass watchfully on, as there was apprehension. Soon after this we came in sight of castles and villages, called Khâka, at which we arrived at the close of day. Passing them about an hour after sunset, we reached the khān's residence, in front of which we halted. We found the khān indifferently lodged. This was not surprising, if the terms on which he lives with his neighbours, the Dúránís of Kábal and Kándahár, be considered. It would be unwise for a khān of the Ghiljís to construct an edifice which it would grieve him to see destroyed whenever their armies might march through his country. As it is, his humble abode is purposely fixed distant from the high road. It



is built merely of mud, and is seated on a mound, at the foot of which are a few houses, and in the vicinity are some black tents. This day duty was paid at the rate of four rupees per camel, two rupees per horse, and one rupee per jackass. The collection was made in a summary way, by counting the animals, as the Ghiljis, to avoid discussion and the frauds of the merchants, levy on the beasts of burthen, not on the merchandize; and to incur no chance of being duped as to them, levy on all indiscriminately, whether laden or not. Any attempt to impose upon them brought a free application of the horsewhip; and some few poor fellows, who had secreted their asses, were most severely belaboured. With the Afghân portion of the kâfila they were less rancorous, but equally strict as to enforcing their rights. Towards the Pârsivân portion they were oppressively harsh and insulting, even while attributing to themselves the merit of moderation. I sat during the scene, which lasted throughout the day, in perfect ease, Ghowar the Ohtak being at hand to look after his bales, and ready to answer if any one noticed me. I was, indeed, honoured by one of the collectors with the charge of his chain-armour, and in the evening received his thanks for having carefully watched it. Besides the amount of transit-fees, forty rupees were paid as mímání, or an entertainment fee. A blind Hâjî, returning from pilgrimage, and who rode on a camel, with a lame fâqîr mounted on an ass,

were excused by the khân, whose inexorable nature relented at the exhibition of the infirmities of human kind.

The Ghiljí tribes occupy the principal portion of the country between Kândahár and Ghazní. They are, moreover, the most numerous of the Afghân tribes, and if united under a capable chief, might, especially in the present state of the country, become the most powerful.

These people are also found between Farra and Herát, and again between Kábal and Jelálabád, but in either position, being under due control, they are little heard of. The Ghiljis between Kândahár and Ghazní comprise the great families of the Ohtaks, the Thokís, the Terekís, and the Andarís, with their sub-divisions. Of these the three first are independent, and the last, residing at Mokar, are subject to the government of Ghazní. The Ohtaks are acknowledged the principal of the Ghiljí families, and furnished the chief, or pádsháh, in the period of their supremacy. They have accordingly a kind of reputation to maintain, and their character is more respectable than that of the other tribes. They dwell in the tract of country north of the Thokís, and of the high road from Kândahár to Ghazní, on which account travellers seldom pass through it. The Thokís, more numerous than the Ohtaks, occupy the line of road, and the tracts immediately north and south of it, from the confines of Kândahár to Mokar. Nearest to Kândahár re-

side the Abúbekr Khél, one of the subdivisions under their chief, Fatí Khán. The Terekís also border on the frontiers of Kándahár, and are east of the Thokís. They are less numerous than the Thokís, and have for chief Khán Terek,—who, if not dependent upon, cultivates an understanding with the sirdárs of Kándahár. Very many of the Terekí tribe also reside in the districts of MOKAR and KÁRABAGH: there they are, of course, subjects to the Ghazní government.

The Ghiljís are both an agricultural and pastoral people, dwelling in villages and castles as well as in tents. The Thokís, possessing the greater length of the course of the Tarnak river, are enabled through its means to cultivate most extensively the tract of country bordering on it, and they raise large quantities of grain and lucern. In certain spots, where the extent of plain is ample, it is wonderful to behold the number of castles scattered over it, and equally so to look upon the luxuriant crops which cover it in the vernal season. When the latter are removed the scene is as singular; having a peculiarly dreary appearance, derived from the dull naked walls of the isolated castles, enlivened by no surrounding trees, or only by stunted and solitary ones, as if in mockery, or to point out the poverty of the landscape. The Thokís have, however, a few villages, or hamlets, with orchards, in favourable situations; and the Ohtaks, whose country is more hilly, and with much less plain, have nume-



rous small fertile valleys, well irrigated by rivulets, and they constantly reside in fixed villages. The Terekís have alike villages, and few castles, excepting that of their chief. The Ghiljís generally are wealthy in flocks, but have no manufactures, except of coarse carpets and felts, sacking, and other rough articles for domestic use, prepared from wool and camel-hair.

They are a remarkably fine race of men, the Ohtak and Thokí peasantry being probably unsurpassed, in the mass, by any other Afghân tribe for commanding stature and strength. They are brave and warlike, but have a sternness of disposition amounting to ferocity in the generality of them, and their brutal manners are, unfortunately, encouraged by the hostility existing between them and their neighbours, while they are not discountenanced by their chiefs. Some of the inferior Ghiljís are so violent in their intercourse with strangers that they can scarcely be considered in the light of human beings, while no language can describe the terrors of a transit through their country, or the indignities which are to be endured. Yet it must be conceded, that they do not excuse on marauding expeditions, and seem to think themselves justifiable in doing as they please in their own country. In this spirit, a person remonstrating against ill-treatment, would be asked why he came amongst them, as he could not be ignorant of their habits.



The Ghiljís, although considered, and calling themselves, Afghâns, and, moreover, employing the Pashto, or Afghân dialect, are undoubtedly a mixed race.

The name is evidently a modification or corruption of Khaljî, or Khilajî, that of a great Túrki tribe, mentioned by Sherífadín in his history of Taimúr, who describes a portion of it as being at that time fixed about Sávah and Khúm, in Persia, and where they are still to be found. It is probable that the Ohtak and Thokí families particularly are of Túrki descent, as may be the Terekí and Andarí tribes; and that they were located in this part of the country at a very early period is evident from the testimony of Ferishta, who, describing the progress of the Máhomedan arms, calls them the Ghilji and Khilijî; and notes that, in conjunction with the tribes of Ghor and of Kâbal, they united, A.H. 143, with the Afghâns of Kirmân (Bangash) and Pesháwer to repel the attacks of the Hindú princes of Lahore. Subsequently, they eminently distinguished themselves by their conquests in India and in Persia. In the latter country, they even defeated the Ottoman armies, and endured sieges unsurpassed in history, ancient and modern, for gallantry and length of defence. Nádír Shâh found them the most obstinate of his enemies; and, when he marched towards India, Kândahár was in the hands of

Hússen Khân, a Ghiljí, who defended the city for eighteen months, and, being reduced to extremity, made a sortie, in which he and his sons, after evincing most signal bravery, and losing the greater part of his men, were made prisoners. I am ignorant of the fate of this gallant man, but with him expired Ghiljí ascendancy in these parts; and which the tribes, although they have made strenuous efforts, have never since been able to recover. Their last attempt was during the sway at Kábal of the weak Sháh Máhmúd; and Abdúl Rehmân Khân, Ohtak, the principal in that affair, is yet alive; but, as he is never heard of, may be presumed, with increase of years to have declined in influence, and to have moderated his views of ambition.

The testimony of Ferishta, while clearly distinguishing the Ghiljí tribes from the Afghâns, also establishes the fact of their early conversion to Islâm; still there is a tradition that they were, at some time, Christians of the Armenian and Georgian churches. It is asserted that they relapsed, or became converts to Máhomedanism from not having been permitted by their pastors to drink buttermilk on fast-days. A whimsical cause, truly, for secession from a faith; yet not so whimsical but that, if the story be correct, it might have influenced a whimsical people. This tradition is known to the Armenians of Kábal; and they instance, as corroborating it, the practice observed

by the Ghiljís of embroidering the front parts of the gowns, or robes, of their females and children with figures of the cross ; and the custom of their housewives, who, previous to forming their dough into cakes, cross their arms over their breasts, and make the sign of the cross on their foreheads after their own manner.

The most powerful and the best known of the present Ghiljí chiefs, is Shahábadín Khân, Thokí, who is what is termed “*nâmdár*,” or famous, both on account of his ability as the head of a turbulent tribe, and for his oppressive conduct to *kâfilas* and to travellers. Latterly, indeed, he has somewhat remitted in his arbitrary proceedings, and, acknowledging his former rapacity, professes to comport himself as a *Mússulmân*, and to exact only regulated transit-fees from the traders ; yet, if more scrupulous himself, he does not, and, it may be, is unable to restrain effectually the extortions and annoyances of his people. He has a numerous progeny ; and some of his sons occasion him much trouble, leaguings themselves with the disaffected of the tribe, and putting themselves into open revolt.

Shahábadín Khân, in common with all the Ghiljís, execrates the *Dúránís*, whom he regards as usurpers, and pays no kind of obedience to the actual *sirdárs* of *Kândahár* and *Kâbal*, neither does he hold any direct or constant communication with them. They, on their part, do not require any

mark of submission from him, it being their policy to allow an independent chief to be between their respective frontiers, or that they distrust their power of supporting such a demand. As it is, the Ghiljí chief sets them at defiance; and, boasting that his ancestors never acknowledged the authority of Ahmed Shâh, asks, why should he respect that of traitors and Ahmed Shâh's slaves? If it be inquired of him why, with his numerous tribes, he does not attempt to wrest the country from them, he conceals his weakness by the pious remark, that to enjoy or to be deprived of power depends upon the will of God, which it is not right to anticipate; but that, if the Sîkhs should march into Khorasân, he will then range all the Ghiljís under the banners of Islâm. He has no stronghold or fortified place; his residence at Khâka, retired from the high road, being so little costly, and therefore so easily renewed if destroyed, would not tempt an enemy to deviate from the road for no better object than its destruction. In the event, however, of the march of armies, he abandons it, and sends his háram to the hills and wastes, his best fastnesses.

Shahâbadín Khân retains in regular pay some two or three hundred horsemen, but his great strength, and that of every Ghiljí chief, is in the levy of the tribe. On occasions when the strength of the Ghiljí community has been put forth, the united force has been very considerable as to num-



bers; thirty-five, forty, and fifty thousand men are talked of. Such large bodies, hastily assembled, of course as precipitately disperse if their object be not immediately gained, and, fortunately, the chiefs have not resources enabling them to wield effectively the formidable elements of power otherwise at their command. Every Ghiljī capable of bearing arms is a soldier, or becomes one in case of need, and he is tolerably well armed with a matchlock or musket, besides his sword and shield. The matchlock has frequently a kind of bayonet attached to it, and such a weapon is as much used by the horseman as by the man on foot.

The disposition of Shahābadīn Khān has sometimes led him to attempt a greater control over his tribe than was considered by the community consistent with ancient custom, but he has always been prudent enough to concede when a show of resistance was made to his measures. He had a son, of whom fame speaks highly, and who fully entered into his father's views as to increasing his authority by curtailing popular influence. The young man, in furtherance of the project, made himself obnoxious, and was at length slain. Shahābadīn Khān, as soon as informed thereof, rode to the residence of the assassin, and absolved him of the murder, remarking, that if his son desired to infringe the established laws of the Ghiljis his death was merited. Yet there is much distrust of the severe Khān entertained by many of the tribe,

of which his factious sons profit to create themselves parties. Such a state of things manifestly operates to diminish the power of all; and it is well, for the zillam, or tyranny, of Ghiljís in authority is proverbially excessive. It is also said, that when duly coerced, they become excellent subjects.

East of Ghazní, in the province of Zúrmát, are the Súlímán Khél Ghiljís, exceedingly numerous, and notorious for their habits of violence and rapine. These have no positive connexion with the Thokís or other tribes, neither have they one acknowledged head, but are governed by their respective maleks, who are independent of each other. Dost Máhoméd Khán has just reduced them to the condition of tributaries, after having destroyed a multitude of their castles.

He was rather averse to attack them, seeming to think it "dangerous to disturb a hornet's nest," but his misgivings were overcome by the counsels of Hâjî Khán. From the Súlímán Khél tribe branch off all the various Ghiljî families in the neighbourhood of Kâbal, and again east of that place to Jelálábád. Indeed, the Ghiljís may, with propriety, be classed into two great divisions, the western and eastern, the latter being all Súlímán Khéls, the former being the Ohtaks, Thokís, Terekís, and Andarís; to which families, I doubt not, belong the Ghiljís between Farra and Herát.

Transit-fees having been collected by the officers of Shahábadín Khán, it was arranged that the

kâfila should continue its journey in the morning. Ghowar the Ohtak, and Râhmat, buckled on their swords and shields, and at dusk left us, and did not return until near the dawn of day. They had gone privily to some place to ascertain whether the kâfila was likely to be attacked on the road in the morning. Their report was favourable.

By daybreak the men of the kâfila were about to load their animals, but a fresh inspection of their numbers was set on foot by the Ghiljís. A little more horsewhipping was the consequence. About nine o'clock the collectors expressed themselves satisfied, and, so far as they were concerned, absolved the kâfila from farther interruption. Now occurred an extraordinary scene; a host of fellows from the houses about Shahâbadín Khân's abode rushed in, and with knives ripping open the heads of bales and packages, helped themselves to handfuls of tobacco, raisins, and pepper, all in the best humour possible. This, it seemed, was their share of the profit derived from passing kâfilas, and the purloining by handfuls continued until the packages were fairly on the camels' backs; and the rising of the animals was the signal for them to desist. It was amusing to witness the haste of the camel-drivers to load, and the avidity of the Ghiljís in profiting by their delay. Those who fell upon the goods of the Afghâns were ingeniously directed to supply their wants at the expense of the Pársívâns. The officers of Shahâbadín, unable to prevent these



nefarious practices, sanctioned by custom, were content to expostulate with the riotous multitude, and remind them that the fees were paid. The *kâfila*, however, was at last in motion, and happy were its members at having escaped from the tiger's den. We soon passed a few collections of black tents, and afterwards two small villages, one on either side of the road. Beyond these again were a few black tents, and we had a laughable instance of the furtive instinct of our Ghiljî friends afforded by a child of some seven or eight years of age, who had detached a camel from the line, and was leading it off before our faces. He was detected, but what could be done to so juvenile an urchin? We now crossed a small range of hills, and beheld an extensive plain in front as far as our sight could reach. On either hand were a few castles, and at some distance on the left a multitude of scattered castles, denoting the course of the Tarnak, and the high road. We had now to traverse a spacious waste, or plain, intervening between the Ghiljî districts and those of Mokar. It is much dreaded by *kâfilas*, who are not only liable to attacks from the Thokis, but are under apprehension from one *Osmân Gannî*, a chief of the *Sûlimân Khêl Ghiljîs*, who, without fixed abode, maintains himself and a party of horse by marauding. This man I found was much more dreaded than *Shahâbadîn Khân*, and has rendered himself of infamous celebrity from his brutal behaviour as well as his robberies. We



were well advanced on the plain, when a cloud of dust in front made our camel-drivers condense their files, and trepidation was spread over many a heart. All was given up in imagination as already lost, and the unblessed men of the *kâfila* selected the moment for a battle with each other. Some mistake was made, or some discussion arose, and clubs were in play on all sides. Two or three better people with difficulty separated the combatants. A shepherd, more sagacious than we were, assured us the dust was raised by a whirlwind, and not by Osmân Ganní. We however marched in close order, until we had passed the deserted walls of a castle on the bank of the Tarnak, about half a mile from the road, which is said to be the usual rendezvous of robbers. Beyond this the *kâfila* extended its files, and in joy at having escaped the perils of the road, crossed the Tarnak, of inconsiderable breadth, flowing in a deep bed, and entered the territory of Ghazní. A ruinous castle was near, and a spot, called Shéhídân, or the place of martyrs, was pointed out, where one thousand Afghâns, who had intrenched themselves, were slain by the victorious army of Nádir. Their bleached bones, it is said, are strewed plentifully over the soil. We passed a castle called Gharí Killa, but it was moonlight before we halted at another castle, with a Lohání village of tents contiguous.

We halted at MOKAR two days, clouds gathering in the afternoon over the Hazára hills to the

north, and much rain fell, accompanied by thunder. Mokar is a large, populous, and well-cultivated district, yet its appearance is not attractive, there being a deficiency of trees; the inhabitants dwell in castles, which are very numerous, and have a naked aspect. Wheat and barley are principally cultivated. The natives are of the Andarí, Alí Khél, and Terekí tribes of Ghiljís.

From Mokar our course led for some time from castle to castle, until we neared the hills on our left, the road being over a barren stony tract. Here some robbers rushed from their ambuscade in a ravine, and attempted to detach some camels. They were detected, and the men of the *kâfila* swaggered about, clanging their swords and shields, and uttering terrible words of defiance and menace, but the rogues had come to plunder not to fight, and being foiled, went off. The night had but little advanced when we halted near a village called Sir Chishma, or the fountain-head. Behind us were, in fact, the springs, or sources of the river Tarnak, near which is a tappa, or artificial mound. This spot was very agreeable from the plot of pasture, through which meandered the slender rivulets formed by the springs. That the locality, as the head of a river, had been held sacred in former times, might be inferred from the presence of the mound, which was, doubtless, crowned or accompanied by a temple, or some structure dedicated to the presiding deities.

Next day we crossed the nascent Tarnak, close to its head. The road led over a bleak, barren tract, which, although tolerably good, was occasionally dotted with hollows and pools, now filled with rain-water. A little before sunset we passed a rivulet about twenty feet wide, running between high banks, with a fair supply of water. Its excess falls into the Lake Ab-istáda. A few villages were seen now and then under the skirts of the hills, and on the plain were grouped some collections of Lohání tents. Four or five tappas, or artificial mounds, occurred on or near the line of road, and finally reaching the district of Obo, we halted near a tappa of superior size, near which gushed a spring of water. Villages and castles were slightly sprinkled in our rear, and the hills to the north were yet covered with snow.

Leaving Obo, at sunset we crossed two spacious ravines, after which the line of road was frequently cut by canals of irrigation. Towards the close of our progress we traversed a small stream flowing in the bed of a broad and deep ravine, and halted, the moon being pretty high, in the district of Kárabâgh. Numerous castles were seen under the snowy hills to our left, or north, and fewer were dispersed over the wide plain to the right. Here we found the inhabitants, principally Hazáras, easily distinguished from their Afghân neighbours by their Tátar physiognomy, their diminished stature, and their habiliments, especially

their close-fitting skull-cap. They are of the Búbak tribe, and their chief, Gúlistán Khán, resides at Kárabâgh. He was formerly of some consequence, but has been materially depressed by Amír Máhoméd Khán, the present Sirdár of Ghazní, whose policy has caused him to reduce to insignificance the various aspiring heads of tribes under his government. He still attends the darbár, and is a man of some ability, and of good address. Notwithstanding various exactions which have been made from him, he is considered wealthy. His tribe is also found at Náwar and Sir-í-áb.

From Kárabâgh we marched early, and passed a large tappa on our left hand, and afterwards an extensive burial-ground, with zíarat. A barren stony tract intervened between us and Nání, where we arrived and halted. Here are many castles, the inhabitants are both Tájiks and Hazáras. The latter are of the Jaghattú tribe.

In the fore part of the day we were visited by a heavy hail-storm. About an hour and a half before sunset we started for Ghazní. Castles and small villages chequered either side of the road. It was daylight when we distinguished in the distance the walls and castle of the once famed capital of Máhmúd, but it was night before we reached it, having crossed near it the river, over which is an ancient and ruinous bridge. We skirted the walls on the southern face, and halted in front of the Kábal Gate.



The káfila had here to pay duties, which were collected in a courteous manner by a Hindú farmer of the revenue. No person is allowed to enter the town unless he deposits his weapons with the guards at the gates. The bazár is neither very large nor well supplied, and the town itself probably does not contain above one thousand houses. It is built on the projecting spur from a small mass of rounded hills, and the citadel, or residence of Amír Máhoméd Khán, is perched on the higher portion of the spur. Its appearance is sufficiently picturesque, and it enjoys an extensive view over the country to the south, but there are no objects to render the landscape interesting. We look in vain over the city for any traces of the splendour which once marked the capital of the great Súltán Máhmúd, and almost question the possibility that we are wandering about its representative. There are traditions that the ancient city was destroyed by a fall of snow overwhelming it at an unusually late period of the season, or nine and a half days after No Roz, but its destruction may be equally imputed to the desolating armies of Húlákú and other barbarian conquerors. The low hills, which close upon and command the city on the side of the Kábal gate, are covered with old Máhomedan cemeteries, and under them, about a mile distant from the town, is the village of Rozah; contiguous to which is the sepulchre and shrine of the mighty Máhmúd. This has been suffered to

dwindle away into ruin, and broken figures of marble lions, with other fragments, alone attest the former beauty of its courts and fountains. In the present gates, fragments, which have escaped the avidity of the pious collectors of relics, are said to be portions of the celebrated Sandal gates of Sam-nâth, and the interior of the apartment covering the tomb of the once-powerful monarch is decorated with flags and suspended ostrich eggs. The tomb itself is enveloped in carpets and palls of silk. There are numerous gardens belonging to Rozah, and the houses of the village have an antique appearance. Between this village and the town are two brick columns, which are the most ancient vestiges of the place, and may be held undoubted testimonies to the ancient capital. They are usually ascribed to Sûltân Máhmud, but I am not aware on what authority. They are, however, due to the period when Cufic characters were in use, for the bricks of which they are constructed are so disposed as to represent Cufic inscriptions and sentences. They are hollow, and may be ascended by flights of steps, which are, in truth, somewhat out of order, but may be surmounted. Ghazní is surrounded by walls, formed of mixed masonry and brick-work, carried along the scarp the entire length of the spur of hill on which it stands. The walls are strengthened with numerous bastions, and a trench surrounds the whole. The citadel is built on an eminence overlooking the town, and owes

its present appearance to Amír Máhoméd Khân, who since its capture by Dost Máhoméd Khân has made it his residence. I saw but two gates, one leading towards Nání, the other towards Kábal, but conclude there are also gates on the opposite side. Ghazní commands a most extensive plain, which is but indifferently furnished with villages and castles, although not absolutely without them, and the river of Náwar runs beneath the town walls on the northern side. The town is seated in the midst of a rich grain-country, and in the adjacent plains of Náwar it has immense fields of pasture. In a military point of view it is happily situated, if we consider the period at which it was selected as a capital, for in the present day it would be scarcely tenable for a long siege, as it is commanded by the hills with which it is connected. Then, however, the case was very different, and it covered the roads leading to Loghar, Kábal, and Bámíán. Unless the sirdár be himself residing at Ghazní, there are few troops there, and some four or five pieces of artillery, amongst which is a famous one called Zabar Zang. Ghazní in its prosperity was frequently taken and sacked,—memorably, by the great Húlákú and by Allahádín, the Afghán prince of Ghor. In its fallen state it has afforded a triumph to British arms, which, in whatever other light regarded, answered the temporary purposes of a political clique, and signalized the commencement of a new reign. It therefore produced abundant



exultation, and no sparing distribution of rewards and honours. I could wish to exult with those who exulted, and to rejoice with those who were rewarded and honoured, but the ghosts of Palmer and his companions in arms, admonish to be silent and discreet.

The country being more elevated than Kâbal, the temperature of the atmosphere is generally lower, and the winters are more severe. The apples and prunes of Ghazní are much famed, and exceed in goodness those of Kâbal. The revenue enjoyed by Amír Máhoméd Khân, and derived from Ghazní and its districts, somewhat exceeds four lakhs of rupees, and is collected as follows—

	RUPEES.
From the duties of the town, and transit-fees on kâfilas	65,000
From agricultural taxes on lands held by Tájiks	70,000
From agricultural taxes on lands held by Andari, and other Afghán tribes	90,000
From the district of Wardak between Ghazni and Kâbal, being chiefly agricultural taxes	90,000
From the Hazâras of Kârabâgh, Nâni, &c.	75,000
From the tributary Hazâras of Jâghûri and Mállistân	14,000
Total rupees	404,000

Ghazní has the repute of being a very ancient site. Wilford tells us, of course following his Sanscrit authorities, that the kings of the Yavanas and Deucalion resided at it. He farther tells us, that its proper ancient name was Sabal, Zabal, or Saul, as written by Chrysococcas; whence he infers it to be the Ozola of Ptolemy. He also conjectures



it to be the Oscanidati of the Peutingerian tables, noted as twenty-two fersangs from Asbana, which he considers Kâbal, and thirty-five fersangs from Zupha, which I believe he would identify with Sheher Safar. In the neighbouring province of Zúrmat are sites which may have preceded that of Ghazní as capitals of this part of the country, viz. Gardéz and Patan. There are also in the district of Wardak several of the ancient monuments called topes, which have been examined by me, and, from the coins found in them, would appear to have been erected during the period of monarchs of the Indo-Scythic race, but not of the earlier ones. They may probably be due to the fourth or fifth century of our era. An inscription, dotted on a brass vessel found in one of them, in Bactro-Pâli characters, may, it is hoped, instruct us as to their origin and nature. In the hills west of Ghazní are other considerable remains of antiquity, at a spot supposed to be the site of a city, and called Sheher Kúrghân. Numerous relics, coins, &c., are found there; but this only proves that it is an ancient place of sepulture; still, being found in more than usual numbers, we are justified to infer that a city of importance flourished near it, or that it was a locality of eminent sanctity. There is also a remarkable cave at this place, called Ghâr Sámanúka. Sheher Kúrghân is behind, and separated by hills from Náwar, so famed for its pastures, and the band, or dam, thrown

across the river of Ghazní by the former sovereigns of the country. It is in the district of Azeristân.

Skirting the low hills of Ghazní, we entered the valley leading to Kâbal. The night was far advanced when we reached Lora, where we halted. Here were some half-dozen castles, inhabited by Hazáras and Afghâns. We learned from the Hazáras that the sirdár collected, as revenue, half the produce of the lands. Confessing he was severe and uncompromising, they admitted that he had promoted peace amongst them, and extinguished feuds. We were now in the district of Wardak, which extends to Shékhabád, and yields a revenue of ninety thousand rupees. It was anciently possessed by the Hazáras, who, about one hundred years since, were expelled by the Afghâns. The Hazáras would also seem to have held the country from Kárábâgh to Ghazní, but have been in like manner partially expelled. Indeed, the encroachments of the Afghân tribes are still in progress.

From Lora, followed a road, generally even, but occasionally broken by water-courses and ravines. Halted at Takíá, a place with few people or houses, but a common halting-spot for kâfilas.

In our progress next day we passed the village of Saiyadabád, and afterwards the fertile valley of Shékhabád, through which winds the river, rising from springs at Ashdá, in the Hazára country of Bísút. It was night as we passed amongst the

villages, castles, and poplar-groves of Shékhabád, but it was easy to imagine that the locality was a favoured one. The river gurgled over a stony bed, and we crossed it by a temporary bridge. We halted at the Kâbal head of the valley.

From Shékhabád, we passed the castles called Top, and entered upon a spacious plain, on which was a chokí, or guard-station. We at length halted in the beautiful vale of Maidân, covered with castles, gardens, groves of poplar and plane-trees, with a redundant cultivation watered by numerous canals. Maidân is inhabited chiefly by the Omar Khél Ghiljís, and through it flows the river of Kâbal.

In our following march we reached the village of Arghandí, since distinguished as the spot selected by Dost Máhoméd Khân to cover Kâbal and encounter his British adversaries, and where the defection of his army took place, which compelled him at once to fly and abandon the country. Beyond it we passed a chokí, or guard-station, on the road-side, and, crossing a small rivulet, entered upon the magnificent plain of Cháhárdéh (the four villages). Here we had on our right hand, at a small distance from the road, the enclosed village of Killa Kází, with its orchards; to our left, a dreary expanse, bounded by lofty hills crowned with snow, at whose skirts were dense lines of dark verdure, denoting the orchards of Békh Tút and Paghmán. As we proceeded we

had to our left, at some distance, a low detached hill, called Chehel Tan, from its *zíarat*. Here is a cave, accessible only by a narrow aperture. It is believed, that if a person enter it he will be unable to squeeze himself out, unless pure and free from sin. The cave is, therefore, not much visited, but the spot is occasionally the resort of holiday-parties from Kâbal. There is also a tradition, that near to it was the ancient city of Zâbal. About mid-distance across the plain, we halted near the ruinous castle of Topchí Bashí, still possessing some fine plane-trees, and an excellent spring of water. On our right hand was the handsome castle of a Jûânshír merchant.

At an early hour we resumed our journey, and with light hearts, as it was the last. At Killa Topchí Báshí many of the members of our *kâfila* had been visited by their relatives and friends from the city, decked in their holiday garments, and bringing offerings of *rawâsh* and lettuce. I had no relatives or friends to welcome my approach, but, as a companion, or *rafík*, I was admitted to a share of the delicacies: and my feelings permitted me to participate in the joy of those around me. Traversing the remainder of the fair plain, we reached Dêh Mazzang, and approached the defile between the hills Assa Máhí and Takht Shâh, through which the road leads into the city. To our right were the venerable gardens, and *chanár*, or plane-tree



groves, overshadowing the grave of the Emperor Baber, and just beyond it, perched on an eminence, a decayed structure, called Takht Jân Nissâr Khân, erected in the time of Shâh Zemân by one of his favourites, that the monarch might, in the luxuriant scenery of the plain, gratify that sight, of which, alas! he was to be so speedily deprived. To our left, at some distance, were the scattered castles of the Afshârs. On entering the defile, the fortified bridge of Nâssir Khân, who defended Kâbal against Nâdir Shâh, extends nearly across its breadth, leaving roads on either side. From the bridge lead up the hills lines of parapet and bastions, but in decay, which are ascribed to Sirdâr Jehân Khân, a veteran chief of Ahmed Shâh. Through this defile flows the river from Chahârdêh, and runs through the city. Hence, tracing a road skirting on orchards, and the dilapidated tomb of Taimûr Shâh, the view amplifies, and the city, Bálla Hissâr, and neighbourhood, lie before us. Passing through the suburbs, we crossed the river by the Pûl Kishtî, a brick structure, and a little beyond halted at the serâi Zirdâd, near the Chokh, where, also, during his stay at Kâbal, Mr. Forster lodged.

In the morning I walked through the city to the Bálla Hissâr, and procured a comfortable abode in the Armenian quarter. There I resided, in quiet and satisfaction, until the autumn, when the desire to see Bâmiân and its antiquities, led me to ac-

company Hâjî Khân Kháká, then governor of the place, on a military progress, which first took me into the Hazára country of Bísút. As it was now the early part of the month of June, I had ample leisure to become acquainted with the city and its inhabitants.

## CHAPTER X.

European visitors.—Dr. Wolf's prediction.—Jang Shía and Súnt.  
 —Dost Máhoméd Khán's fears.—Prophecy and delusion.—  
 Delicacies of Kábal.—Rawásh.—Chúkrí.—Cherries.—Mulber-  
 ries.—Grapes.—Peaches.—Melons.—Their cultivation.—Profu-  
 sion of fruits.—Ice.—Snow.—Takht Sháh.—Khána Sanghí.—  
 Glens.—Antiquities.—Zíárata.—Sang Nawishta.—Topes.—  
 Sanjitak.—Sháh Máhmúd's revels and adventure.—Sháhzáda  
 Ismael's fate.—Baber's tomb.—Masjít.—Grove.—Distribution.  
 —Tank.—Trees and flowers.—Râna Zéba.—Hawthorns.—  
 Weekly fair.—Serál.—Reflections.—Takht Jân Nissár Khán.  
 —Hospitality.—Accidental interruption.—Liberality of senti-  
 ment.—Anecdote of Fati Khán.—Religious laxity.—Restriction  
 at Bokhára.—Equality of Armenians.—Their intercourse with  
 Máhomédans.—Liberal remark.—Indulgences.—Jews.—Charge  
 of Blasphemy.—Punishment.—Reflections.

SOME few days before my reaching Kábal it had been honoured by the presence of three English gentlemen, Lieutenant Burnes, Doctor Gerard, and the Reverend Joseph Wolf. The latter had predicted many singular events, to be preceded by earthquakes, civil dissensions, foreign wars, and divers other calamities. An alarming earthquake did occur, and established his prophetic character, which considerably rose in estimation, when, about three hours after, a conflict took place between the Atchak Zai Afgháns of the city and the Júánshírs,

who were celebrating the Mohorâm, and wailing and beating their breasts in commemorative grief of the slaughter of the sons of Ali. Several lives were lost; the Sûnî population were about to arm in the cause of the Atchak Zais, Chándol was on the alert, and its ramparts were manned, while desultory firing was carried on. Dost Máhoméd Khân, who had calmly sat during the earthquake, could not endure with the same fortitude the intelligence of an event, which, if it ripened into a crisis, would involve the loss of that authority which was so dear to him, and had cost him so many cares and crimes to obtain. He became sick of a fever. Hâjî Khân Khâka, who had been previously unwell, but now sent a Korân as a pledge to the Júânshírs, in the expectation that the affair would bring on a general struggle, was appointed agent by Dost Máhoméd Khân for the Shíás of the city, and the Nawâb Jabâr Khân agent for the Sûnís. These two compromised matters, or rather, suffered them to subside, for no arrangement was made. The season was fruitful in forebodings and prophecies, for now another earthquake was foretold by one of the holy men, which was to complete the destruction menaced by the preceding one. On the appointed day half of the inhabitants of Kâbal repaired to tents without the city, and when it had passed serenely over, returned in ridicule to their deserted abodes.

Rawâsh, or the blanched stalks of the rhubarb-plant, was one of the delicacies of the bazars when



I arrived in Kâbal, and the lambs of the Lóhání and Ghiljí flocks formed another. Lettuces also abounded. Rawâsh lasts for three months, from the middle of April to that of July. It is much eaten in its natural state, simply with the addition of salt, and is largely employed in cookery with meat. It affords a grateful, acidulated relish, and is held to be particularly sanative. It serves a variety of uses, and dried, is preserved for any length of time. It also makes an excellent preserve, by being first saturated in a solution of lime and then boiled with shírár, or the inspissated juice of grapes, losing, however, in this case, its characteristic flavour. Rawâsh is more or less plentiful in all the hills from Kalât of Balochistân to Kândahár, and again from that place to Kâbal. Attention is only paid to its growth by the inhabitants of Pagh-mân, who supply the bazars of the city. They surround the choicer plants with conical coverings of stones, so as to exclude light and air, and thereby produce that whiteness of stem so much prized. The unblanched plant is called chúkri, and is also exposed to sale. More reasonable in price, it is nearly as well adapted for ordinary uses. Ríwand Chíní, or Chinese rhubarb, is a common drug at Kâbal, and much employed by the physicians, who never suspect it to be the same plant which yields their rawâsh.

The day of my arrival was distinguished by the presence in the bazar of cherries, the first-fruits of

the year; a day or two after apricots were seen, and in four or five days they were succeeded by mulberries. Cherries, I observed, were of three varieties; and to the Emperor Baber is ascribed the merit of their introduction into Kâbal, and to which he lays claim in his memoirs. Apricots are of very numerous varieties, as are the mulberries; and all exist in profusion. Parties visit the gardens about the city, and each paying a pais, or the sixtieth part of a rupee, have liberty to shake the trees, and regale themselves at discretion during the day. Some of the varieties of mulberries are of excellent flavour, and to enhance its zest, rose-water is by some sprinkled over the mass, with fragments of ice or pounded snow. The first grapes which ripen are called Kândahâri, from having, perhaps, been originally brought from that place; they are black, and of large clustered bunches, the grapes much varying in size. They appear about the end of June, and continue until the end of July, when they are replaced by the many varieties for which Kâbal is famous, until the close of autumn, following each other in due succession. In June, also, apples are first brought to the bazars, and in July they become plentiful, with pears. In the beginning of August peaches ripen in Koh Dâman; they are very large, but I think not well flavoured; indeed, I question whether any of the fruits of Kâbal equal in flavour the analogous varieties of England. Quinces, with musk, and, water-melons, usher in the autumn; and

the latter are certainly fine fruits; while their enormous consumption is such, that to raise them is the task of the agriculturist. The Sadú Zai princes did not disdain to derive profits from their royal melon-fields, nor is Dost Máhoméd Khán ashamed to imitate the precedent. He has his *páléz*, or melon-fields, prepared and tended by forced labour, and the inhabitants of the contiguous villages are taxed to furnish, from the neighbouring wastes, their respective proportions of the plant *asl-sús*, or liquorice, which is employed in the formation of the beds and trenches, and which abounds. Besides all these fruits, there are walnuts, almonds, pistas, figs, and pomegranates, although the two latter kinds are not so esteemed as those of warmer countries. It is scarcely possible that Kâbal can be surpassed for the abundance and variety of its fruits, and, perhaps, no city can present, in its season, so beautiful a display of the delicious treasures supplied by nature for her children. Of the many luxuries of Kâbal, ice must not be forgotten; like fruit, it is abundant, and so cheap as to be within the reach of the poorest citizen. It is used to cool water, sherbets, and fruits; and even a cup of buttermilk is scarcely thought fit to drink unless a fragment of ice be floating in it. During winter large blocks of ice are deposited in deep pits, lined with chaff; matting, for a depth of some feet, is placed over them, and the whole is covered with earth. Another method of obtaining ice is by



directing water into a prepared cavity, and allowing it to freeze. The process is renewed until a sufficient quantity of the congelated mass is accumulated, when it is overspread with matting and soil. Snow is alike preserved, and its square crystalized heaps sparkle during the warm months in the shops of the fruiterers and confectioners.

I made many excursions in the environs, and examined the various interesting objects they present. On one occasion I ascended the hill Koh Takht Shâh, to inspect the building on its summit, mindful that Baber had described it as the palace of an ancient king. I found a substantial erection of about thirty-five feet in length, and eighteen feet in breadth, with a height of about eleven feet. On the western front is a small arched entrance, leading into an apartment of about eleven feet square, crowned with a dome. Four niches were inserted at the angles of the walls, and three others in the respective sides. A little below, on the face of the hill, there is believed to be a cave, which has its opposite outlet at Fatîabâd, at the head of the Jelâlabâd valley, and by which Zâkom Shâh, an infidel king who resided here, escaped from the vengeance of Hâzrat Ali. Baber appears to have related the tradition of the country connected with the spot, but there can be little question, from the existence of the domed chamber, that the Takht Shâh, or King's Throne, as it is called, is a sepulchral monument of the middle ages. It is rudely



composed of unfashioned stones, and the chamber has been lined with cement. Connected with it, and extending along the summits of the range, and of its ramifications, are parapet walls of masonry. We ascended the hill by the Kotal, or pass of Kedar, leading from the zíarat of that name into Chahár Déh, on the descent of which is another object of curiosity. It is called the Khâna Sanghí, or the stone house, and consists of two apartments hewn in the rock, with the doors also of stone. A terrace, of a few feet in breadth, extends before it, and two or three large hewn stones are lying by the sides of the entrances. It may have been the retreat in former times of some religious recluse. In our descent from the Takht Sháh we came direct down its eastern face, and fell upon the glens, or khols Shams, and Magamast, where are sepulchral vestiges of the old inhabitants. In these we subsequently made excavations, and found a variety of idols, also some Nágari manuscripts on leaves, which, however, it is feared, were too mutilated to be very serviceable, although the characters on what had been spared were very distinct. At the same spot Dr. Gerard, when at Kábal, procured the image of Buddha, so called, which figures in the September number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society in Bengal for 1834.

From the khols to the Bálla Hissár the distance is a little above half a mile, and is occupied by a burial-place of the present city; in former times it

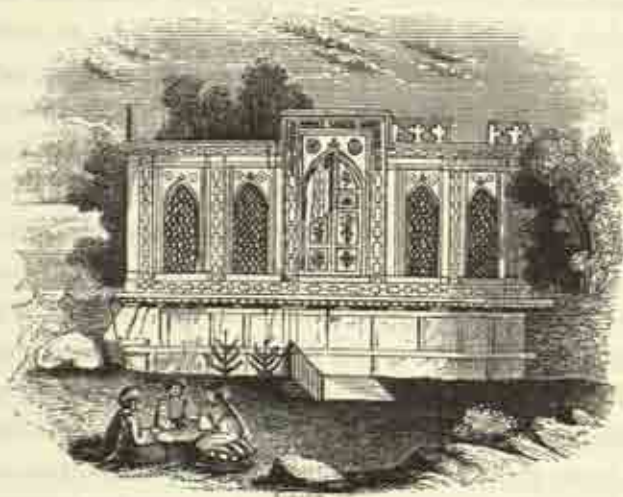
was appropriated to a similar use. On the skirts of the hill overlooking it are the zîárats, or shrines of Jehân Bázh, Panja Shâh Merdân, and Kedar, all favourite places of festive resort to the people of the city. I had heard of an inscribed stone, called Sang Nawishta, near the hill Shâkh Baranta, about five miles south of Kâbal, and such an object demanded attention. I therefore walked to it, and found a large square block lying on the right of the road on the bank of the Loghar river, over which, close by, a bridge has been thrown. It required no dexterity to see that it was Persian, but whether the characters had been mutilated, or were of too ancient a style, I could find no person able fully and satisfactorily to read it. Copies preserved may tend to its explanation, but I question if it relates to any important event or topic. It had been lying for years neglected, when Abbás Kúlî Khân, the proprietor of a castle on the opposite side of the river, set it up in its present position. The Loghar river at this point enters the plain east of Kâbal, and has a breadth of nearly sixty yards. In another and more extended excursion, I skirted the hill-range from Shâkh Baranta to Bhût Khâkh, in whose recesses are the Topes, subsequently examined by M. Honigberger. I was unable at this time to benefit by the knowledge of their existence.

Amongst the glens, or khols of these hills, is one called Sanjitak, a favourite spot for the pleasure-

seeking parties of Kâbal, who are, however, obliged to come in numbers and armed, as it is a little retired. It is a place of ancient sepulture, and there are mounds and caves at it;—from the former funeral jars have been extracted. The attractions for holiday-makers are, the water of a fine spring, which a little from its source is collected in a deep and spacious tank, cut in the living rock, a work of other days, and the shade afforded by some umbrageous trees, themselves venerable from their age. These are chanars, or oriental planes, but there are likewise walnut-trees and vineyards. The dissolute and eccentric Shâh Máhmúd loved the secluded and picturesque glen of Sanjitak, so convenient, and adapted to the indulgence and concealment of his licentiousness. At the head of the spring he built a pleasure-house, now in ruins; and many tales are told of his adventures here, for he was pleased to ramble about, slightly attended. Once, it is said, the horses of the monarch and of his few attendants were carried off by robbers. The same spot is memorable in the annals of Kâbal, as having been visited, on pretence of diversion, by Shâhzâda Ismael, son of Shâh Ayúb, who intended to have retired to Peshâwer, having failed to convince his infatuated father of the propriety of seizing the property of the deceased Sirdâr Máhomed Azem Khân, as well as of his own immediate danger from the violence of the sirdâr's brother, Fúr Dil Khân. The nominal Shâh, conjecturing his

son's purpose, sent after him to Sanjitak. The prince was induced to return, and on the morrow was shot in a rash attempt to resist the deposition of his father. This event led to many reflections, and is still held as an undeniable evidence of the impossibility of avoiding the destiny which, fixed and unerring, awaits every mortal.

Numerous were the walks I made, and the days I spent amongst the several *zíárats*, or shrines of the city, as well as amid its delightful gardens and orchards. Of the *zíárats*, that of the Emperor Báber best repays a visit. It is attractive from



TOMB OF THE EMPEROR BABER.

the recollections we carry with us, and the reveries to which they give rise. It is equally so from the romantic situation of the spot, its pic-



turesque aspect, and from the extensive and beautiful view it commands. The tomb of the great monarch is accompanied by many monuments of similar nature, commemorative of his relatives, and they are surrounded by an enclosure of white marble, curiously and elegantly carved. A few argbawân-trees, in the early spring putting forth their splendid red blossoms, flourish, as it were, negligently, about the structure. The tombs, for the truth must be told, are the objects of least attention in these degenerate days. No person superintends them, and great liberty has been taken with the stones employed in the enclosing walls. Behind, or west of the tombs, is a handsome masjid, also of marble, over which is a long Persian inscription, recording the cause and date of its erection. The latter was subsequent to the decease of Baber. Again, behind the masjid, is the large and venerable grove, which constitutes the glory of the locality. The shade of the illustrious prince might not be displeased to know that the precincts of his sepulchre are devoted to the recreations of the inhabitants of his beloved Kâbal; and the indignation it might feel that the present chief does not hesitate to picket his horses under the shade of the groves, might be soothed by the deprecatory enunciations the act of desecration calls forth. The groves are no longer kept in order, and sad havoc has been perpetrated amongst the trees. Probably a diffidence too se-

riously to outrage public sentiment, has saved them from total destruction. The ground is laid out in a succession of terraces, elevated the one above the other, and connected in the centre by flights of ascending steps. At each flight of steps is a plot of chanár, or plane-trees, and to the left of the superior flight is a very magnificent group of the same trees, surrounding as they overshadow, a tank, or reservoir of water. The principal road leads from west to east, up the steps, and had formerly on either side lines of sabr, or cypress-trees, a few of which only remain. Canals of water, derived from the upper tank, were conducted parallel to the course of the road, the water falling in cascades over the descents of the several terraces. This tank is filled by a canal, noted by Baber himself. It is that which he tells us was formed in the time of his paternal uncle, Mírza Ulugh Beg, by Wais Atkeh. The descendants of the Wais still flourish, and are considered the principal family of Kábal. The rather notorious Mír Wais, put to death by Sháh Sújah, when in power, was a member of it. Below the tomb of the emperor, on the plain, is the hereditary castle and estate, with the village Waisalabád, due to the same family.

Baber Bádsháh, so the interesting spot is called, is distinguished by the abundance, variety, and beauty of its trees and shrubs. Besides the imposing masses of plane-trees, its lines of tall, ta-

pering, and sombre cypresses, and its multitudes of mulberry-trees, there are wildernesses of white and yellow rose-bushes, of jasmines, and other fragrant shrubs. The *râna zéba*, a remarkable variety of the rose (*rosa prostolistiaia*), the exterior of whose petals is yellow, while the interior is vermilion red, also is common. The Englishman is not a little charmed to behold amongst the arborescent ornaments of the place the hawthorn of his native country, with its fragrant clustered flowers and its scarlet hips. Attaining the size of a tree, it is here a curiosity. Its native region is amongst the secondary hills of the Hindú Kosh, in Panjshír, &c.

On Júma, or Friday, the sabbatical day of Máhomedans, in the vernal season, a *méla*, or fair, is regularly instituted here. Shops are arranged, where provisions and delicacies may be procured, and crowds flock to Baber Bádsháh to greet the welcome return of spring. On Shamba, the day following Júma, the females of the city resort to the umbrageous groves, and divert themselves by dancing to the soft tones of the lyre and tambourine, and by swinging. They amply enjoy their liberty after six days' confinement in the solitude of the háram. On other days, it is no uncommon circumstance for families to make festive excursions to Baber Bádsháh. The place is peculiarly fitted for social enjoyment, and nothing can surpass the beauty of the landscape and the pu-



rity of atmosphere. Its situation is likewise admirably apposite, being without the city, yet conveniently near. Parties from the western parts of the city pass through the opening leading into Chahár Déh. From the eastern parts and the Bálla Hissár, it may be more speedily reached by crossing the ridge Koh Takht Shâh, by the pass of Kheddar, which descends nearly upon it.

The establishment connected with the sepulchre of the illustrious Baber was once very complete. At the entrance of the grove to the west are the substantial walls of a kárávánserái, for the accommodation of merchants; and over the river, which flows contiguously, a massive bridge of masonry, evidently of the same period, has been thrown.

It is instructive, while wandering about the shaded walks of Baber Bádshâh, to reflect on the probable origin of shrines, temples, fairs, &c. The causes being well exemplified in the scenes before us. The tomb of a beneficent and beloved monarch has given rise to a temple, to a sacred grove, to a fair, to a kárávánserái, and to a bridge. The age of hero worship is past, but the state of religion in these countries, while preventing an apotheosis, has still permitted that gratitude should enrol the gay and generous Baber in the calendar of saints.

Adjacent to Baber Bádshâh, on an eminence, is a ruinous building, erected by Jân Nissár Khán in the reign of Shâh Zemân, that the monarch



might thence survey the luxuriant prospect around. Certainly, when the sober shades of evening have invested the landscape with a chaste solemnity, it is unrivalled, and indifferent must be the bosom which is not influenced and enraptured by its calm and serene beauties.

There are few places where a stranger so soon feels himself at home, and becomes familiar with all classes, as at Kábal. There can be none where all classes so much respect his claims to civility, and so much exert themselves to promote his satisfaction and amusement. He must not be unhappy. To avow himself so, would be, he is told, a reproach upon the hospitality of his hosts and entertainers. I had not been a month in Kábal before I had become acquainted with I know not how many people; had become a visitor at their houses, a member of their social parties. No holiday occurred that did not bring me a summons to attend some family circle, in some one of the many gardens of the city. The stranger guest will not fail to be astonished at the attentions paid to him on such occasions. It seems as if the entertainment had been expressly designed for him, and that the company had no other object than to contribute to his gratification. The most rigid mind must admire such politeness, and the feelings which prompt its exhibition.

I was accustomed to stroll freely about the city and its immediate neighbourhood, and was never

interrupted, or noticed offensively, but on one day, when a cap I wore, rather than myself, elicited some ill feeling. I had, by chance, left my house with a Persian cap on my head, in lieu of the usual lúnghí. I have seen many changes in Kâbal, and do not know what may yet come to pass there, but I cannot forget that the sight of a Persian cap would, in 1832, have brought insult upon the wearer.

It is matter of agreeable surprise to any one acquainted with the Máhomedans of India, Persia, and Turkey, and with their religious prejudices and antipathies, to find that the people of Kâbal are entirely free from them. In most countries, few Máhomedans will eat with a Christian; to salute him, even in error, is deemed unfortunate, and he is looked upon as unclean. Here none of these difficulties or feelings exist. The Christian is respectfully called a "kitábí," or "one of the book." The dissolute Vazír Fatí Khán, when, occasionally, an Armenian Christian presented himself, desiring to become a convert to Islám, was wont to inquire what he had found deficient in his own religion that he wished to change it? And would remark, that those persons who possessed a book, and would adopt a new faith, were scoundrels, actuated by love of gain, or other interested motive. To the Hindú, anxious to enter the pale of the Máhomedan Church, he made no objection; on the contrary, he applauded him who, having no religion,

embraced one. I at first imputed the indifference of the Kâbal people to their own laxity, for I soon observed that there was very little religion amongst them. Those called Shíás were very generally of the Súfi mazzab, which, whatever its mystical pretensions, I fear, implies no religion at all. The same system largely prevails amongst the Súní professors. But when the same liberality was found to extend over the country, and amongst all races, whether Afghâns, Tâjiks, or others who could not be chargeable with Súfi doctrines, I was sensible that there must be some other reason; however I could not discern it for the fact that the people of Kâbal and the country around, only of all Máhomedans, should be careless or generous, as the case may be, in matters held by others of so much moment. I believe that the invidious distinction of dress, enforced generally on Christians at Bokhára, is according to an edict of no very remote date, nor is it impossible that previously the same liberality of deportment distinguished Túrkestân. The political ascendancy of Christians may have an effect; and it is at least consolatory to the pride of the Mússulmán to fancy he possesses an advantage in spiritual matters, when his rival, by superior address and talent, has established his pre-eminence in temporal affairs. It is highly creditable, however, to those of a declining faith, whose higher tone of sentiment can withstand the admission into their bosoms of ungenerous feelings to-



wards those whose superiority they acknowledge. Living with the Armenians of the city, I witnessed every day the terms of equality on which they dwelt amongst their Máhomedan neighbours. The Armenian followed the Máhomedan corpse to its place of burial; the Máhomedan showed the same mark of respect to the deceased of the Armenian community. They mutually attended each others' weddings, and participated in the little matters which spring up in society. The Armenian presented gifts on Id Noh Roz, or the Mahomedan new year's day; he received them on his own Christmas-day. If it had happened that a Máhomedan had married an Armenian female who was lost to the Church of the Cross, I found that the Armenians had retaliated, and brought Máhomedan females into their families, and inducted them into their faith. An Armenian, in conversation with the present head of the Wais family said, that some person had called him a *kâfr* or infidel. The reply was, "He that calls you a *kâfr* is a *kâfr* himself." It is something for a Christian to reside with Máhomedans so tolerant and unprejudiced. Wine, prohibited to be made or sold in the city, is permitted to be made and used by Armenians, who are simply restricted to indulge in their own houses. They have not, unadroitly, induced the Máhomedans to believe that to drink wine is part of their religion, and to interfere on that head is impossible. There are a few families of Jews at Kâbal, but while per-



fectly tolerated as to matters of faith, they by no means command the respect which is shown to Armenians. Like them, they are permitted to make vinous and spirituous liquors; and they depend chiefly for their livelihood upon the clandestine sale of them. Some years since, a Jew was heard to speak disrespectfully of Jesus Christ; he was arraigned, and convicted before the Máhomedan tribunals on a charge of blasphemy; the sentence was sang sár, or, to be stoned to death. The unhappy culprit was brought to the Armenians that they, as particularly interested, might carry into effect the punishment of the law. They declined, when the Máhomedans led the poor wretch without the city, and his life became the forfeit of his indiscretion. It was singular that an attack upon the divinity of our Saviour should have been held cognizable in a Máhomedan ecclesiastical court, and that it should have been resented by those who in their theological disputes with Christians never fail to cavil on that very point. The Jew, in averring that Jesus Christ was the son of the carpenter Joseph, had differed from their own belief on that subject; but had not the assertion been made by a Jew, who would have noticed it? How true is it, that the Jews are everywhere the despised, the rejected race.

## CHAPTER XI.

Situation of Kâbal. — Fortifications. — Bálla Hissár. — Defences. — Búrj Húlákú. — Value of defences. — Citadel. — Bálla Hissár Bálla. — Kúla Feringhí. — Prohibition. — Marble thrones. — Bálla Hissár Bálla originally a cemetery. — Discoveries. — Wells. — Gates. — Bálla Hissár Páhn. — Regulations. — Mallas. — Police. — Gates. — Dafta Khána. — Tope Khána. — Palace. — Masjít Pád-sháh. — Anecdote of Taimúr Sháh. — City walls. — Gates. — Chándol. — Walls. — Population. — Aspect of city. — Habíb Ulah Khán's freak. — Construction of houses. — Mallas and kúchas. — Their object and inconveniences. — Public buildings. — Seráts. — Hamáns. — Bridges. — Bazars. — Shops. — Trades. — Markets. — Itinerant traders and cries. — Provisions. — Variable prices. — Famines. — Mode of preventing pressure on supplies. — Enjoyments of winter season. — Sandalia. — Inconveniences. — Economy. — Chimneys. — Flues. — Burial-places. — Inscription. — Máhomedan tombs. — Shíá tombs. — Grave-stones. — Englishman's grave. — Belief respecting it. — Removal of grave-stones. — Customs observed at burial-places. — Processions. — Takías. — Zíárats. — Rock impressions. — Gardens. — Namáz Gâh. — Bâgh Taimúr Sháh. — Bâgh Sháh Zemân. — Bâgh Vazír. — Chahár Bâgh. — Taimúr Sháh's tomb. — Bâgh Khwoja. — Gardens of Deh Afghân. — River. — Júi Shir. — Bálla Júi. — Júi Púl Mastân. — Wells. — Quality of water. — Abundance. — Meadows. — Bogs. — Causes of fever. — Site of Kâbal. — Agreeable vicinity. — Winds. — Whirlwinds. — Commercial importance. — Domestic trade. — Manufactures. — Wants of the community. — Artizans and fabrics. — State of progression.

THE city of Kâbal is seated at the western extremity of a spacious plain, in an angle formed by

the approach of two inferior hill ridges. That to the south is indifferently called Koh Takht Shâh (hill of the king's palace), and Koh Khwoja Safar from a zîarat of that name, on its acclivity, overlooking the city. It has also the less used and mythological appellation of Bandar Déo. The ridge to the north, of inferior altitude, is known by the name of the Koh Assa Mâhî, or the hill of the great mother, which is Nature. A temple, dedicated to the goddess, is at the foot of the hill. A huge stone is the object of adoration.

The interval between these two hills allows space for the entrance, from the plain of Chahâr Déh, of the stream called the river of Kâbal, which winds through the city. Over it has been thrown a substantial and fortified bridge of masonry. From it connecting lines of ramparts and towers are carried up the sides and over the summits of the ridges. Useless for purposes of defence, they contribute to diversify the aspect of the city, as seen from the east. The lines of fortifications cresting the Koh Takht Shâh are brought down the eastern face of the hill, and made to close upon the Bálla Hissâr Bálla, or citadel, built upon a spur of the same hill, at the south-east extremity of the city. At this point was formerly one of the gates of the old city, (the Derwâza Jabâr,) and as it connected the hill defences with those of the Bálla Hissâr Bálla, the *enceinte* of the place was completed according to the notions of the projector, Sirdâr Jahân Khân,

Popal Zai, a veteran chief, of the age of Ahmed Shâh. The Balla Hissâr was originally strongly built, and its walls were accommodated to the form of the rising ground of its site. Their lower portions are composed of masonry, facing the rock, to a depth of fifteen to twenty feet. Their upper portions, six or seven feet in height, are of burnt brick, and form a parapet, which is crenated and provided with embrasures and loop-holes for large and small arms, also with a regular succession of kangaras. Formerly, a shîrâzî, or fausse-braye of mud, was carried between the walls and the trench. The latter is spacious, but of variable depth, and being neglected, has become overgrown with rank grass, amongst which, towards the close of autumn, when the water decreases, cattle graze. At the south-west end of the fortification, where the minor hill of the Balla Hissâr Balla connects with the parent one, and where the Derwâza Jabâr once stood, the nature of the swelling rock has not permitted the extension of the trench; or the obstacles it opposed were deemed too formidable to be encountered, for the advantages to be derived. Still, this point seems to have been thought the weak one of the place; and to strengthen it, on the superior hill commanding it, is a massive tower, called Bûrj Hûlâkû, from some tradition respecting that barbarous conqueror. To this point, we have already noted, that the lines of Sirdâr Jahân Khân were extended, and within them he has included



the Búrj Húlákú. This work, intended for the defence of the place, has, invariably, in the numerous intestine contests happening during the last few years for its possession, fallen into the power of the assailing party on the outbreak of hostilities.

As a fortress, from being commanded on the south-west, and west by the hill overshadowing it, and to the east by eminences, on which Nádir Shâh raised his batteries, the Bálla Hissár of Kâbal can scarcely be deemed competent to resist for any length of time, a scientific attack. In native warfare, it must be considered a strong place, or one capable of being made so. In earlier times, we can give the judicious Baber credit for the importance he attached to its fortifications. At a later period, the siege it withstood against Nádir did not impair its reputation for strength.

The Bálla Hissár of Kâbal comprises two portions, the Bálla Hissár Pâhín, and the Bálla Hissár Bálla. Hissár implies a fortress, and Bálla Hissár the upper or superior fortress, the citadel. Hence, Pesháwer, Kâbal, Ghazní, Kândahâr, and Herât, have all their Bálla Hissárs, equivalents to the Args of Persia. Bálla Hissár Bálla, and Bálla Hissár Pâhín, therefore, signify the upper and lower citadels. In some places, as at Hérat, Kandahâr, and Ghazní, the citadel may be enclosed within the walls of the city. In others, as at Kâbal and Pesháwer, they may be without, and independent. In the latter reigns of the Sadu Zai princes the Bálla

Hissár Bálla served as a state prison. It is now a solitude, and in ruins. The summit of the eminence on which it is raised is surmounted by a dilapidated square, turretted building, called the Kúla Feringhí (European hat). It is of very recent date, being due to Sirdár Súltán Máhoméd Khân, and arose under the superintendence of a rude architect, Hâjí Alí, Kohistâní, one of his military dependents. It was intended for no more important purpose than to enable the chief and his friends to enjoy the beauties of the landscape around, and was in consequence slightly constructed. As a spectator from it completely overlooks the palace of the chief below, orders, little regarded, have been issued, to forbid the people of the city to visit it, and the Bálla Hissár Bálla generally, on the plea of preserving intact the "pardah," or privacy of the háram.

Under the northern wall of the Kúla Feringhí, however, are two objects deserving inspection, in two masses of hewn white marble, describing what are here called takhts, or thrones; flights of three steps being formed in each. One of them is distinguished by a flagon carved on one of its sides; and this symbol of good cheer and festivity, while it may explain the purpose to which the thrones may have been at some time devoted, forcibly recalls to recollection, that this was the very spot where the soeial Baber frequently held his convivial meetings, and which probably he had in mind when he

exultingly declared that Kábal was the very best place in the world to drink wine in. Connected with the thrones is a miniature hous, or reservoir for water, inadequate for purposes of general ablutions, but appropriate for the lavement of fingers and píálas (cups), and the trivial detergent offices consequent upon an oriental regale.

It is certain that the Bálla Hissár Bálla has been at one time a cemetery, for I have been assured by too many people to doubt the fact, that when children they were accustomed in their rambles over it constantly to pick up old coins, &c.; even now they are occasionally found. Discoveries of another nature have been frequently made, of stone cannon-balls, arrow-heads, caltrops, &c.; of course, portions of the munitions once laid in store for the defence of the place. It is not improbable that very much of the hill is honey-combed with vaults and passages, some of which have been casually discovered. The soil spread over the hill is continually carried away for the manufacture of salt-petre. Much of this may be formed of the *débris* of the unsubstantial erections of unburnt bricks, which have been from time to time erected within the limits of the fortifications. Yet, no small part of it may be considered as the soil which, in former ages, has been carried up from the plain beneath, and deposited upon the rocky surface, to form the required basis for the reception of the jars and ashes of the dead.



Within the precincts of the upper citadel are two wells, lined with masonry. One of these, called the *Síáh Cháh* (black well), was used as a dungeon, up to the time of *Sháh Máhmúd*. The *Vazír Fatí Khán* once confined many of his brothers, *Dost Máhoméd Khán* amongst the rest, in this *Síáh Cháh*. After executions, the corpses of the slain were sometimes thrown into it. The other well is now neglected, but once yielded excellent water. The outer line of the *Bálla Hissár Bálla* has three gates. One, the principal, leading into the *Bálla Hissár Páhín*, a little south of the palace. This gate was mined by *Dost Máhoméd Khán*, when he besieged Prince *Jehânghír*, the son of *Kámrán*. The second, called *Derwâza Kâshí* (contraction of *Nakâshí*, or painted), from having been covered with glazed enamelled tiles, looks upon the plain eastward. By this gate Prince *Jehânghír* escaped. The third gate, smaller than the others, leads towards the hill *Khwoja Safar*, near the site of the *Derwâza Jabár*. It is called the gate of blood, as through it were carried privily by night, for interment, the corpses of those of the royal family who fell victims to the resentment, or fears of the reigning prince. This detestable gate, with the others, is closed.

The *Bálla Hissár Páhín*, or lower citadel, under the *Sadú Zai* princes, besides the space occupied by their palaces and appurtenances, chiefly accommodated their servants and select retainers, as cer-



tain portions of the ghúlám khána, or household troops. Now it is more indiscriminately tenanted.

On the understood fact that it is the property of the crown, or of the ruling power, no house can be erected in it without permission; neither does any house erected become the absolute property of its occupant or founder. In sales, or transfers of possession, the houses are not so much sold as the wood employed in their construction, the value of which regulates the price. It is in the power of the authorities at any time to eject the inhabitants. Of course, such an act is only thought of in cases of emergency. An instance of ejection occurred when Habíb Ulah Khán held the Bálla Hissár. His mother appealed to him in favour of the Armenian residents; and the not very rational youth admitted that to displace those who had no connexions in the country to receive them would be harsh. They were allowed to remain.

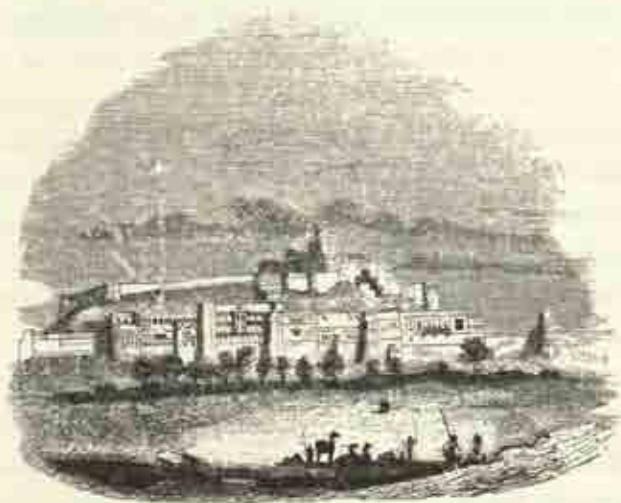
The Bálla Hissár Pâhín may contain nearly one thousand houses, and is provided with a good bazar. It is divided into many quarters, or malls, called after the classes inhabiting them; as the Malla Araba (Arab), Malla Hábáshí (descendants of negroes), Malla Armaní (Armenian), &c. It has a police, under the direction of a katwál, and a court under the jurisdiction of a Kází, for the judgment and adjudication of disputes and causes. All serious matters are referred to Dost Máhoméd Khán,

and, indeed, in Kâbal all offices are nominal, the chief attending personally to all matters, however trivial.

In the exterior circumference of the Bálla Hissâr Pâhín there are two gates, one on the eastern front called the Derwâza Shâh Shéhid, from a zíarat contiguous; the other, on the western front, called the Derwâza Nagára Khâna, on account of the nagáras, or drums, beaten daily at certain times, being stationed there. There is an internal and intermediate gate on the road between these two now standing, and there was formerly another, both belonging to a court south of the palace, in which was the Dafta Khâna, or record office. This building, a very gay one, was in being when I first visited Kâbal; Dost Máhoméd Khân has pulled it down, intending with its materials to construct a garden-house, under the hill of the upper citadel. However effectually he may conduct the business of the state, he has no need of public offices, and his ministers write at their own houses, and carry their records and papers about with them in their pockets. From the court of the Dafta Khâna the Tope Khâna, or artillery-ground, is entered, and beyond it the bazar of the Araba leads to the Derwâza Nagára Khâna. This bazar is spacious, and had lines of trees extending along its centre; some of them remain. The artillery-ground and Dafta Khâna were similarly ornamented; and it is easy to imagine, notwithstanding the destruction which has

occurred, and the neglect which prevails, that the interior of the lower citadel was once regularly and agreeably laid out, as was becoming in the vicinity of the palace of the sovereign.

The royal abode built by Taimúr Shâh (Ahmed Shâh was wont to reside in the city) occupies much of the northern front of the lower citadel, and is made



PALACE OF BALLA HISSAR.

to rest upon its walls. It has a sombre external appearance, but commands beautiful views over the surrounding country, particularly towards the north, where the distant snowy masses of the Hindú Kosh terminate the prospect. It is most substantially constructed, and the interior is distributed into a variety of handsome and capacious areas, surrounded

by suites of apartments on a commodious and magnificent scale. These are embellished with ornamental carvings, and highly coloured paintings of flowers, fruits, and other devices. Formerly there were many appendages without the high walls enclosing the palace, in gardens, *díwân khânas*, *masjits*, &c. ; but these have been suffered to disappear, or have been purposely destroyed by the present chiefs, to obliterate, if possible, any recollections of the *Sadú Zai* dynasty. The *masjít Pádshâh*, or royal mosque, which it would have been profane to pull down, has been allowed to fall silently into ruin. Near it, is pointed out a withered tree, become so, it is said, from the numberless perjuries which have been uttered beneath it. It is believed to be an evidence of the crimes and perfidies of the times.

When *Taimúr Shâh*, in his last visit to *Kâbal*, in progress to the eastward, beheld the palace then unfinished, he complained that the *sitúns*, or pillars, were too slight. It was submitted, that they were made of the largest timbers procurable. The prince remarked, they might last well enough for fifty years, when he would build a new palace. He never again beheld it, being carried into it a corpse. His palace is now the dwelling-place of usurpers ; and who shall venture to predict its possessor at the close of the monarch's fifty years.

The original city of *Kâbal* was surrounded by walls, constructed partly of burnt bricks, and partly



of mud. Their indications may be traced in many places, more abundantly in the eastern quarter. The space enclosed by them being largely filled, even now, with gardens, does not contain above five thousand houses; anciently it may be presumed to have comprised a lower number. When we consider that the large suburbs, or additions, to the old city, have been made since the Sadú Zai dynasty had established itself in power, and are owing to the foreign tribes domiciled subsequently to the demise of Nádir, we may question whether the original city could ever have boasted of twenty thousand inhabitants, or have been of one half the size of the present.

Seven gates allowed ingress and egress to and from the old city; the Derwâzas Lahorí, Sirdár, Pét, Déh Afghânân, Déh Mazzang, Gúzar Gâh, and Jabár. Of these, Derwâzas Lahori and Sirdár are the only ones standing, built of deeply coloured kiln-burnt bricks. That of Jabár was removed only four or five years since. The sites of those no longer existing, besides being well known, are the stations of officers appointed to collect the town duties on the necessities of life brought in from the country. Some of the names by which the gates are now known, or remembered, would seem to have replaced more ancient ones. The derwâza Lahorí is certainly the currier's gate of Baber, and adjacent thereto still reside the charm-gars, or leather-dressers of Kábal.

Without the limits of the ancient city, to the west, is the quarter of Chándol; once a village, its name preserved by Baber, now a large town, surrounded by lofty walls. It is inhabited solely by the various tribes of Persian and Túrki descent, that have become located at Kábal since the death of Nádir. It contains about fifteen hundred or two thousand houses, and is provided with its independent bazars, baths, masjíts, and other appurtenances of a city. It has, also, its separate police, and courts of law and justice. Its walls were raised under the sanction of the Vazír Fatí Khân. An expression regarding them, made by Attá Máhoméd Khân, reported to the Bárak Zai chiefs, the vazír's brothers, led to his being deprived of sight.

Besides the fortified suburb of Chándol, there may be about fifteen hundred other houses, dispersed without the ancient limits of the city. Inclusive of the Bálla Hissár, the number of houses in Kábal, will be about nine thousand, of which nearly one half are occupied by Shíá families. The population may therefore be computed at something between fifty and sixty thousand. In the summer season, from the influx of merchants, and people from all parts of the country, the city is very densely inhabited; and this pressure of strangers explains the crowds and bustle to be witnessed in the bazars; with the great proportion of itinerant traders in cooked provisions, and the necessities of life, who may be said to infest the streets.

The appearance of Kábal as a city, has little to recommend it beyond the interest conferred by the surrounding scenery. It is best, and indeed can only be seen from the east. In that direction it is first descried by the traveller from the lower countries, at the crest, of the kotal, or pass of Lataband, (the place of shreds). Formerly, a canopied apartment of the palace at Kábal was cased in copper, gilt, and besides being very ornamental, it had a conspicuous effect in the obscure and indistinct mass presented by the city when divulged from the kotal. It endured up to the brief government of Habíb Ulah Khán, who, inheritor to the vast treasures of his father, in a freak rather than from cupidity—for he was thoughtless and profuse—ordered the copper-gilt casing to be removed, and the gold to be extracted. A paltry sum did not pay the cost of labour incurred to procure it, and the inconsiderate chief repented that he had exposed himself to ridicule, and to the reproaches of his people, for having destroyed one of the principal ornaments of the city.

The houses of Kábal are but slightly and indifferently built, generally of mud and unburnt bricks. The few of burnt bricks are those of old standing. Their general want of substantiality does not militate against their being conveniently arranged within, as many of them are; particularly those built by the Shíás in Chándol, and other quarters. These people lay claim, and perhaps justly, to a greater



share of taste and refinement than falls to the lot of their fellow-townsmen.

The city is divided into *mallas*, or quarters, and these again are separated into *kúchas*, or sections. The latter are enclosed and entered by small gates. In occasions of war or tumult the entrance gates are built up, and the city contains as many different fortresses as there are *kúchas* in it. This means of defence is called *kúcha-bandí* (closing up the *kúchas*). It must be obvious, that an insecure state of society has induced this precautionary mode of arrangement in the building of the city. The necessity to adopt it has occasioned the narrow and inconvenient passages of communication, or streets, if they must be so called, which intersect the several *kúchas*. No predilection for dark alleys, or wish to exclude the pure air of heaven has operated. The principal bazars of the city are independent of the *kúchas*, and extend generally in straight lines; the chief objects of attention, they are when tracing out the plan of a city, defined with accuracy, and the *mallas* and *kúchas* are formed arbitrarily upon them.

In winter the inhabitants clear the flat roofs of their houses of the snow by shelving it into the passages below, whence they become at length choked up. Gradually melted on the advent of spring, the paths are filled with mixed snow, water, and mud, and for a long time continue in a miserable condition. After severe winters, or when



much snow has been accumulated, it is surprising to how late a period it will remain unmelted in many of the kúchas, nearly excluded from, or but for a short hour visited by the genial rays of the sun.

There are no public buildings of any moment in the city. The masjits, or places of worship, are far from being splendid edifices, although many are spacious and commodious; convenience and utility, other than specious external appearance, being sought for in their construction. There is but one madressa, or college,—without endowment or scholars.

There are some fourteen or fifteen seráis, or ká-rávanseráis, for the accommodation of foreign merchants and traders, named sometimes after their founders, as the Serái Zirdád, the Serái Máhomed Kúmi, &c.; sometimes after the place whose traders in preference frequent it, as the Serái Kandahárá, &c. These structures will bear no comparison with the elegant and commodious buildings of the same kind, so numerous in the cities and country of Persia. Hamâms, or public baths, being indispensable appendages to a Máhomedan city, are in some number, but they are deficient on the score of cleanliness. The approach to many of them is announced by an unwelcome odour, arising from the offensive fuel employed to heat them. Across the river which flows through Ká-bal, so far as the actual city is concerned, there can be said to be only one bridge, viz. the Púl Kishtí (the brick bridge). It is, in fact, a sub-

stantial structure, however ill kept in repair, of mixed brick-work and masonry. It leads directly into the busy parts of the city, where the *chabútra*, or custom-house, *mandéh*, or corn-market, the *chahár chatta*, or the covered arcades, and the principal *bazárs* are found. At a little distance east of it is what is called *Púl Noé*, or the canoe bridge: it is composed of the hollowed trunks of trees joined to each other. It yields a tremulous passage to pedestrians who choose to venture over it, and connects the quarters *Bâgh Alí Mirdân Khân* and *Morád Khâní*. To the west, at the gorge between the two hills, through which the river enters upon the city, is the fortified bridge of *Sirdár Jehân Khân*. This is sometimes called the bridge of *Nássir Khân*, and is probably due to the governor so named, who flourished at the epoch of *Nádir's* invasion, and, it is believed, was one of the dignitaries who invited the Persian. *Sirdár Jehân Khân* connected with this bridge the lines of fortifications, which he threw over the hills; and most likely built the parapet wall which fringes the western, or exterior face of the bridge. Between this structure and the *Púl Kishtí* was anciently a bridge connecting *Chándol* on the southern side of the stream, with the *Anderábí* quarter on the opposite side. It has disappeared, but the *Nawáb Jabár Khân* contemplates its replacement. Beyond the *Púl Noé*, and altogether without the city, is another once substantial bridge,

thrown across the stream, said to owe its origin to Baber. It became injured through age and neglect; but being on the road from the palace of the Bálla Hissár to the royal gardens, it was necessary to repair it; and at length, in the reign of Zemân Shâh it was re-edified by the governor of the city, Sirdâr Jehân Nissâr Khân, whose name it yet bears. It has, however, again become dilapidated. Immediately north of this bridge are the two castles of Máhomed Khân Bai-yát, since become memorable from one of them having been selected as the commissariat depôt for the English troops at Kábal, by the capture of which so much and fatal disaster was occasioned, if not wholly, in great measure. The castles are north, and opposite to the palace in the Bálla Hissár, from which a meadow extends to the river, on whose opposite side they are seated. The distance from them to the palace is two thousand yards. It is astonishing that an attack upon this position should have been allowed by the troops in the Bálla Hissár, under whose immediate observation it must have occurred. It is equally singular, that the first attack having been repulsed, the little garrison was not reinforced. Close to the castles is a dam damma, or large mound, on which, in the struggles for the possession of Kábal, a gun was placed by Dost Máhomed Khân, to play upon the Bálla Hissár. The proprietor, Máhomed Khân, was intimately con-

nected with Dost Máhoméd Khân, and generally his companion at meals and in his rides. He greatly favoured an intercourse with Persia, and was, perhaps, one of the few who might have benefited by it. He therefore used his influence to prevent Dost Máhoméd Khân from forming any connexion with the Indian Government, and was suspected of having forwarded letters to the Persian camp before Herát. Sir Alexander Burnes, it would seem from his letters, printed, and privately circulated, was willing to have wreaked his vengeance on the old offender, but Sir William Macnaghten more generously preserved him from the effects of pitiful resentment, and in the attack on the commissariat his family and retainers assisted the garrison in the defence, for which his son paid the forfeit of his ears to the chiefs of the insurrection.

It was by the destruction of this bridge, or of another, one hundred yards beyond it, over the canal Morád Khâni, that the communications between the camp and Bálla Hissár were cut off. The river has yet another bridge, traversing it west of the fortified bridge at the gorge of the two hills, and parallel to the tomb of the celebrated Baber. It is alike a substantial erection, and its date is probably that of the tomb and its appendages, of which it may be considered one. The river has therefore in Kâbal and the immediate vicinity, four substantial bridges crossing it,



with the probability of having another, the fifth constructed. The canoe-bridge is not entitled to be considered a bridge, being little more important than a plank placed across a rivulet deserves to be thought. Besides these bridges, the river has no other, either to the east or west of them, in the upper part of its course being easily fordable, and soon terminating its lower by joining with the river of Loghar.

Of the several bazars of the city, the two principal, running irregularly parallel to each other, are the Shor Bazár and the Bazár of the Derwâza Lahorí. The former to the south, extends east and west from the Bálla Hissár Pâhín to the Zíarat Bábbá Khodí, a distance of little more than three quarters of a mile. The latter, stretching from the Derwâza Lahorí, terminates at the Chabútra, at which point a street to the south, called Chob Frosh, or the wood-market, communicates with the western extremity of the Shor Bazár. To the north, another street leads from the Chabútra to the Púl Kishtí. The western portion of the bazár Derwâza Lahorí is occupied by the Chahúr Chatta, or four covered arcades: the more magnificent of the Kábal bazars, and of which the inhabitants are justly proud. The structure is ascribed to Ali Mirdân Khân, whose name is immortal in these countries, from the many visible testimonies to his public spirit extant in various forms. It was handsomely constructed

and highly embellished with paintings. The four covered arcades, of equal length and dimensions, are separated from each other by square open areas, originally provided with wells and fountains. These were judicious improvements on the plan in vogue throughout Persia, where the covered bazars, extending in some of the larger cities for above two miles, not only exclude the rays of the sun but completely prevent the free circulation of air, producing thereby close and oppressive, and it may be presumed, unhealthy atmospheres. The dokâns, or shops of the Chahar Chat-ta, are now tenanted by bâzâzîs, or retail venders of manufactured goods, whether of wool, cotton, or silk. Before the shops are what may be called counters, on which sit, with their wares displayed, allâka-bands, or silk-men, makers of caps, shoes, &c. with sarâfs, or money-changers, with their heaps of pais, or copper monies, before them. Beneath the counters are stalls; and as they exactly resemble the cobblers' stalls of London in situation and appearance, so are they generally occupied by the same class of craftsmen.

In Kâbal, the several descriptions of traders and artisans congregate, as is usual in Eastern cities, and together are found the shops of drapers, saddlers, braziers, ironmongers, armourers, book-binders, venders of shoes, postîns, &c. The cattle-market, called Nâkâsh, is seated north of the river, and west of the Pûl Kishtî, in the Anderâbî quar-

ter. It is held daily, and sales of all animals are effected, whether for slaughter as food, or for purposes of pleasure, use, or burthen. There are two mandés, or grain-markets; one near the Chahár Chatta, called Mandé Kalân, the other Mandé Shâhzâda, in the quarter Tandûr Sâzî, or earthenware manufactory, between the Shor Bazâr and the Derwâza Lahorî. The quarter called Shik-ârpûrî, adjoining the Pûl Kishtî, on the right bank of the river, may be considered the fruit-market of Kâbal. To it the various fruits are brought from the neighbouring country, and thence are dispersed among the retail venders of the city, to form those rich, copious, and beautiful displays, in their due seasons, which fail not to extort the admiration of strangers. Melons, an important branch of the fruit-trade, and of which the consumption is immense, are sold principally at Mandé Kalân. There are, in like manner, markets for wood and charcoal, while every malla, or quarter, is provided with its depôts of these articles of fuel for the winter demand. In Kâbal, as in other places, all traffic is transacted through the medium of the broker, or dalâl.

Besides the shopkeepers, or fixed tradesmen, a vast number of itinerant traders parade the bazars, and it is probable that the cries of Kâbal equal in variety those of London. Many of them are identical, and the old clothesman of the British metropolis is perfectly represented by the Moghat

of Kâbal, who, although not a Jew, follows his profession, and announces it by the cry of "Zir-i-khona? rakht-i-khona?"—"old bullion? old clothes?"

While the quality of the provisions brought into the Kâbal markets is excellent, prices are liable to much fluctuation, especially in the various kinds of grain; and the reason is, obviously, that the country at large scarcely yields a sufficient quantity for the supply of its inhabitants, and wheat becomes an article of import. It follows hence, that not only are prices subject to variation from extraordinary accidents, as partial or general failure of the crops, the ravages of locusts, &c., but that they are affected by the ordinary and constantly occurring changes of the season. Winter in Kâbal is always distinguished by high prices, and the advance immediately follows the stoppage of its communications by snow. In the famines which, from time to time, have afflicted Kâbal, the misery has naturally been most intense within the city during the winter; and it would appear, that the calamity has been only experienced there, while in the provinces supplies, if not abundantly, might still have been spared to have relieved the distress of the capital; but the roads were closed by snow, and the little energy wanting to overcome the slight impediment was absent, or no one thought of bringing it into action. The last serious famine occurred in the reign of Shâh Mâh-



múd; and since that time so great an evil has been happily averted, notwithstanding occasional years of scarcity have, in the order of things, presented themselves. The present chief is always anxious to relieve the pressure which would attend the residence of a large body of troops in the city throughout the winter; and the collection of the revenues of Bangash and Taghow affords him the opportunity of employing them advantageously during that period. The warmer region of Jelálabád also provides for the reception of a large body of troops, and contributes to lighten the demand upon the winter stores accumulated for the supply of the city, which are never altogether sufficient, both from want of capital and improvidence.

In despite of the evils consequent upon winter, and the severity of the climate, which prohibits exercise abroad, the inhabitant of Kábal seems to consider it as the season of luxurious enjoyment as it is that of supine sloth. The enjoyment vaunted of is not, however, of an enviable nature, and consists merely in regaling upon the fresh fruits of the past autumn, while the individual is seated, with his legs under the cover of a sandalí, drawn up to his chin. The sandalí, it must be explained, is the ordinary mode of exhibiting fire for the purposes of warmth in most countries of Western Asia. It consists merely of a takht, or table, placed over a cavity in the ground, or some other receptacle to contain fire, and covered with a number

of capacious cloths and quilts. A little fuel suffices to raise heat, which is retained by the quilts, and as little is necessary to sustain it. Around this sit, during the day, the various members of a family. Upon the surface of the takht they arrange their repasts; and at night, when inclined to repose, have only to fall backwards, and draw the cover of the sandalí over them. Could the imagination, so fertile and powerful, unroof during a winter's night the houses of Kâbal, upon what a singular scene would it look down. Dismissing the revelations which might interest an Asmodeus, and a bachelor of Salamanca, how curious the spectacle of a countless number of sandalis, appearing as the centres of an endless succession of circles, their radii formed by extended human beings! There are some inconveniences attending the use of sandalis, and the bursting of an imperfectly made piece of charcoal, the description of fuel generally employed, frequently occasions danger. There would also seem danger in the use of charcoal itself, but I never heard of any accident occurring on that account, which may be perhaps accounted for in the fact that there is not, even amongst the houses of the opulent, an apartment perfectly air-tight in Kâbal: moreover, the quantity of charcoal used is small. The confinement during so many months, the postures in which it has been passed, and the fumes of the charcoal, occasion the legs of many individuals to be par-

tially benumbed on the advent of spring, and it needs the elastic energies of the season, and exercise, to enable them to recover their tone and action. The sandalí is simple and economical, yet could only be in fashion or employed in countries where the mass of the people can afford to sit idle during the winter, as it is incompatible with labour. The wealthy, while not rejecting sandalís, also use mangals, or open iron vessels, in which they burn wood, that of the balút, or holly, being preferred. There are few chimneys, or bokhárís, as called, although not absolutely unknown. They are considered a Persian invention; and the centre of the room is still held the proper place for the fire intended to warm it; while the smoke, although admitted to be an inconvenience, is yet supposed to have its effect in heating the atmosphere of the chamber; and, again, its inconvenience is said less to be felt, as it is the custom to sit on the ground, not on chairs; and smoke, as every one knows, ascends. Some of the higher classes have especial winter apartments, heated by flues to a regulated degree, after the manner of baths, or of hot-houses in England.

Attached to the city are several places of burial, the different sects having their distinct ones, and even the different classes of the same sect. In general, they resemble European localities of similar character. The larger burial-places, which are always without the city, are those of the Zíarat



Khedar, and Panjah Shâh Mirdân, the Derwâza Shâh Shéhîd, and of Ashak Arífân, under the hill Koh Khwoja Safar, with that east of the Derwâza Lahorí, belonging to the Súnís. The Shíás of Chándol have a burial-place on the part of the hill Khwoja Safar which overlooks their quarter; a large one, is that of the Afshárs, so called from being near them, but where the dead of many of the Shíá tribes are deposited; this lies on the brow of the hill Assa Mâhí. The Morád Khânís have a distinct place of sepulture, as have the Cúrds, and other tribes. The skirts, indeed, of all the superior hills, and of the minor eminences in the environs of the city, are occupied by graves and burial-places. On those of the Tappa Márinjân, east of the city, are the burial-place of the Jews and the Hindu Soz, or spot where Hindú corpses undergo cremation. The Armenians have their peculiar, and walled-in cemetery, amongst the Máhomedan graveyards of Khwoja Khedarí, south of the Bálla Hissár, and directly opposite the takía, or shrine of Shír Alí Lapchâk, over the entrance to which is an inscription on a marble slab, recording that Jehânghír visited Kâbal, on an excursion of pleasure, in the year 1002 of the Hejra.

The Máhomedan tombs vary little, except in position, from ordinary Christian ones. They are placed from north to south. They have the same shaped head-stone, generally of marble, either of



the costly kind imported from more eastern countries, or of the native alabaster, procured in the quarries of Maidân. The head-stone also bears an inscribed epitaph, and is ornamented, if not with faces of angels and cherubs, with sculptured flowers, and other fanciful devices. It is no uncommon circumstance amongst the graves of the Shîa tribes, to see shields, swords, and lances engraved on the tombs, commemorating the profession of the deceased, a practice observed in various parts of Persia, particularly in Kûrdistân, where, if expense deters the sculptured stone, a rudely painted figure of a warrior on the humble monument of wood constitutes the simple memorial.

There are many head-stones in the Kâbal burial-grounds, which have an antiquity of several centuries; many of these may have been removed from their original sites, but they bear inscriptions in antiquated Arabic and Persian characters. I am not aware that stones with Cufic epitaphs exist, which, however, would not have been deemed strange, looking at the long period the Cáliphs dominated in these countries. In the grave-yards of the hill Assa Máhi a neglected stone, distinguished by a sculptured mitre, denotes the place of rest of a Georgian bishop, who it would seem died at Kâbal three or four centuries since. In the Armenian cemetery likewise a mitre on one of the stones points to the rank of the person deposited beneath it, although tradition is silent as

to him or to his age. But the more curious, and to Englishmen the most interesting grave-stone to be found about Kábal, is one commemorative of a countryman, and which bears a simple epitaph and record, in large legible Roman characters. The monument is small, and of marble, not of the very frequent description of upright head stone, but of another form, which is also common, and which imitates the form of the raised sod over the grave. It is to be seen close to the zíárat, or shrine of Sháh Shéhíd, in the burial-ground east of the gate of the same name, and within some two hundred yards of it. It is rather confusedly engraved around the sides of the stone, but runs as follows :

HERE LYES THE BODY OF JOSEPH HICKS THE SON OF THOMAS  
HICKS AND ELDITH WHO DEPARTED THIS LYFE THE ELEVENTH  
OF OCTOBER 1666.

The date carries us back to the commencement of the reign of Aurangzéb, when Kábal was held by one of his lieutenants. This monument was one of the first objects of curiosity brought to my notice at Kábal, and residing immediately within the gate of the Bálla Hissár near to it, I had it in sight whenever I left my house on a stroll. In those days there was a kabar-kan, or grave-digger, well-versed in the histories and traditions of the monuments and graves of the ground in which his practice prevailed. He was communicative, and informed me that he understood from his predecessors, that

the monument commemorated an officer of artillery, who stood so high in the estimation of the governor, that they were buried close to each other on a contiguous mound. This, and the monument raised over the governor, were pointed out to me by the venerable depositary of funeral lore, and he assured me that the monument placed over the Feringhí (European), or of Mr. Hicks, had been removed, before his memory, from its correct locality, and placed over the grave of a Máhomedan; such transfers, however indecorous or indelicate, being sometimes made. On a tappa, or mound, some distance to the south, is another monument of the same form, but of larger dimensions, which is also believed to rest on the grave of a Feringhí. The inference is here drawn from the direction of the stone, which is from east to west, no epitaph being present to render the fact certain.

It is customary for people to sit and weep over the graves of their deceased relatives; and this task principally falls upon the females, who may be presumed to enjoy greater leisure than their lords. It also gives a fair pretence to exchange the confined atmosphere of the háram for the healthy breeze of the external country. Priests, on recent occasions, are also hired to repeat prayers and recite the Korân, sometimes for so long a period as one year. At the revival of spring, annually, a day is appropriated to the visit of the graves of the dead; it is called the Day of the Deceased; and would almost



seem a Máhomedan conservation and transposition of the ancient rites paid in honour of Adonis and Osiris. On such occasions the graves are visited in procession; they are sprinkled with water; garlands are placed on them, and any injuries which may have occurred during the preceding year repaired. These pious offices do not, however, preclude a due manifestation of grief, in lamentations and howlings. It is worthy of note, that the same sanctity does not attach to burial-places amongst Máhomedans as with Christians. At least, they are in nowise offended by persons walking or riding over and trampling upon them. Neither are they consecrated localities.

Many takías are interspersed amongst all burial-places; nor does the admixture of things so profane with objects entitled to reverence appear to be thought improper, indeed, it is never thought of at all. Very many of these places, dignified with the higher appellation of zíárat, or shrine, deserve notice, not merely on account of the holy repute attaching to them, but that they are amongst the chief and usual spots of holiday resort to the inhabitants of the city, owing to the beauty of their picturesque sites. Found generally on the acclivities of hills, in recesses supplied by springs of water, and embellished by groves and gardens, they also command extensive views of the country around. At many of these localities the largest trees in the country are to be seen, usually the chanár, or plane,

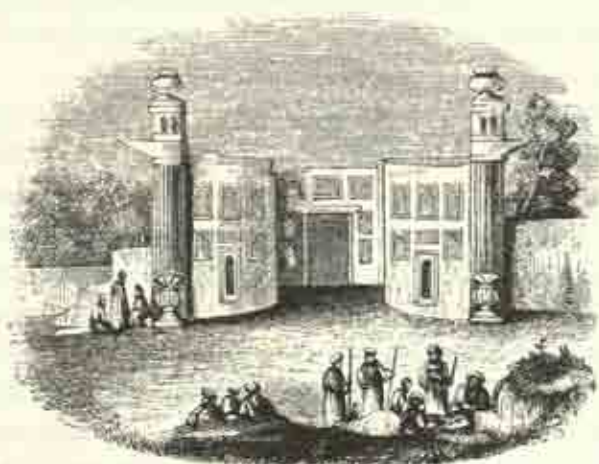


and each of them has some peculiar attraction. The more eminent of these are the *ziárats* *Jehân Báẓ*, *Panjah Sháh Mirdân*, *Khwoja Khedarí*, *Khwoja Safar*, and *Ashak Arífân*, on the eastern skirts of the hill *Koh Takht Sháh*; and the tomb of *Baber* and the *ziárat Sháh Mallang* on the western skirts, overlooking *Chahár Déh*. At the *ziárat Panjah Sháh Mirdân*, the object of estimation, indeed of adoration, is an impress on the surface of the rock, in the shape, nearly, of the human hand. This is held to be a token of *Házrat Ali*. It is clearly, however, no impression of the human hand, but a geological curiosity, being the indenture made by some animal passing over the rock when in a plastic state. Such impressions abound in the countries of *Kábal*, and are generally made *ziárats*, although not always so. A very common variety is the form of a hoof; and this is always accepted as that of *Daldal*, the charger of *Házrat Ali*. I have observed, that these vestiges occur in the same kind of black stone. In the instance of *Panjah Sháh Mirdân* the token is upon a perpendicular rock; in all other cases I have found them on horizontal surfaces. There can be little doubt but that all the *ziárats* on the acclivities of hills were, in the ages prior to *Máhomedanism*, alike places of sacred note with the then inhabitants. The ancient sepulchral mounds visible in the precincts of all of them, with their accompanying caves, attest it; and it is not unusual, as happened at *Panjah Sháh Mir-*

dân, on digging to prepare the soil for the foundation of a building, to discover quantities of buried idols.

Amongst the other scenes of recreation to which the inhabitants of Kâbal, essentially a holiday people, repair, are the various gardens and orchards. These are numerous interspersed amid the houses under the hill Assa Mâhí, as well as partially throughout the city; while many are found without its limits to the north and north-east. The vast supplies of fruits brought to the markets are produced in the orchards of Chahâr Déh, Paghmân, Koh Dáman, and the Kohistân. Gardens are invariably open to the public, even those belonging to private individuals. The principal of these are, the royal gardens of Ahmed Shâh, Taimúr Shâh, and Zemân Shâh, Bágh Vazír, the Chahâr Bágh, Bágh Khwoja, with the gardens of Déh Afghân. The garden formed by Ahmed Shâh is called Nemáz Gâh (the place of prayer), and appears to have been the Id Gâh (place of celebrating the festival of Id) of his time. Of the masjid erected in the centre the ruins remain, but the encircling space is still carefully swept, and about it are planted irises and other flowers. The trees of this garden are all mulberries, venerable as to age and proportions. We are told, that the roots of them were originally nourished with milk, in lieu of water. The under soil is now annually sown with shaftal, or trefoil, but numerous kâhkowas, splendid

varieties of the tulip, spontaneously growing in their season, proclaim that it was once under the dominion of Flora. The garden of Taimúr Shâh is on the Kaiabân, or race-course leading from the Derwâza Sirdâr, and occupies a space of nine kolbahs. The greater part of the trees has been destroyed by the ruling chiefs, who raise shaftal on the denuded soil. The Bâgh of Zemân Shâh is seated also on the Kaiabân, but lower down, or more easterly, and on the side opposite to that of Taimúr Shâh. It fills a space of seven kolbahs, and agreeably to the plan upon which all these gardens have been laid out and formed, it had a pleasure-house in the centre, from which diverged the four principal roads. Of this erection, as in the case also of the preceding garden, merely the remains exist. Surrounded by walls, the entrance was distinguished



ENTRANCE TO BAGH SHAH ZEMAN.

by a handsome building, the remnants of which are still interesting.

This, like all the other royal gardens, is now the property of Dost Máhoméd Khân, who derives a revenue from the produce of the fruit-trees, and turns the soil to profit by the culture of grasses. To this garden, and that of Taimúr Shâh, the chief makes his ordinary evening rides. A little beyond the garden of Zemân Shâh terminates the Kaiabân, or race-course, which extends in a direct line east from the Derwâza Sirdâr, one of the old city gates. It was made by Sirdâr Jân Nissâr Khân, and passes the several royal gardens, and the village of Bímárú. Where it terminates the British cantonment was formed; the village and heights of Bímárú (a contraction of Bíbí Mâh Rúí, of the moon-faced, or beautiful lady, Baber's appellation,) are a little to the north of the Kaiabân. These spots have derived a mournful celebrity from the late unhappy occurrences.

The Bâgh Vazír is seated on the left bank of the river, west of the Púl Kishtí, and near Chándol, and is noted for a conspicuous pleasure-house, built by Fatí Khân. It is also memorable as having been the place where Attá Máhoméd Khân, son of the Múkhtahar-a-dowlah, was deprived of sight by Pír Máhoméd Khân, the younger of the brothers of the Vazír. The Cháhár Bagh is also similarly situated. It is well stocked with standard mulberry trees, and in the centre is the unfinished



tomb of Taimúr Shâh, an octagon of kiln-burnt bricks, surmounted by a cupola. The crowning monument is sadly fractured; and we are told that the injury was occasioned by the reckless Habib Ulah Khân, who, during his short sway, was accustomed to amuse himself by witnessing the scene afforded by a man, who, for the consideration of a ducat, would place himself on its summit as a mark, upon which he and his companions might exercise their dexterity as artillerymen. Bâgh Khwoja, so called from its founder, a religious character, is seated between the river and Dêh Afghân, a small village without the city on the eastern front of the hill Assa Mâhî. It is furnished with fruit-trees of various descriptions. Dependent upon Dêh Afghân are many gardens; one of them, in which is the tomb of a saint of the Shîas, is of repute, as being entirely laid out as a flower-garden. Its visitors are of a disorderly class. In this neighbourhood are also the bulk of the kitchen-gardens, which supply the city with vegetables. They are very creditably tended, and the horticulturists are esteemed the best in the country. Kâbal is abundantly supplied with water, and generally of good quality. The river, on its entrance from the plain of Chahâr Dêh, is beautifully transparent; but after a course of a few hundred yards its waters are little used by the inhabitants of the city as a beverage, from a belief that its quality is impaired by the large quantities of clothes cleansed

in it preparatory to bleaching upon its banks. Parallel to the river in the first part of its course, is the canal called Júi Shír (the canal of milk), whose water is esteemed excellent. We must discredit tradition, or believe that it was once flowing with milk. The southern parts of the city are supplied with water from a canal called Bálla Júi, (the upper canal,) which is brought from the river at its entrance into the plain of Chahár Déh, and being carried on the western face of the hill Koh Takht Shâh, passes the sepulchre of Baber Pádshâh, and thence winds around the same hill until it reaches the Bálla Hissár Bálla. This is the canal noted by Baber as having been formed in the time of his paternal uncle Ulugh Beg, by Weis Atkeh. Without the Bálla Hissár, to the east, flows a canal, the Júi Púl Mastân, whose water is held in high repute. It is derived from the river of Loghar, as it enters the plain of Shévakí, and has a course of about five miles, a length a little inferior to that of the Bálla Júi. There are very many wells throughout the whole extent of the city, indeed numerous houses are provided with them; the same remarks apply to the Bálla Hissár. The waters of these are more or less esteemed, but are generally considered heavy, and decidedly inferior to river-water undefiled. In Kâbal, water, to be good, must be light in weight. The monarchs were accustomed to have the water drank by them brought from Shakr Dara, a distance of nine miles; and

the experiments, testing its superiority over that of the neighbouring valleys of Ferzah, &c. are narrated.

Water is very readily procurable throughout the whole valley of Kábal; which, notwithstanding its superior elevation, is still, with reference to the altitude of the hills surrounding it on various sides, a depressed one. The presence of the rivers of Kábal and Loghar, and the facilities they afford, with the multitude of springs and rivulets issuing from the bases of the hills, render a recourse to wells here, as throughout the country, unnecessary; but in situations where they may be needed, as in gardens, there is no difficulty in finding water at moderate depths.

To the north-west and north of the city, are the chamans, or pastures of Vazírabád and Bímárú. To the east those of Bégrám, and to the south-east and south, those of Shévaki and Bíní Hissár. In seasons when snow has been plentiful, they are covered, on the breaking up of the winter, with large sheets of water, becoming indeed lakes, and are the resorts of immense numbers of aquatic fowl. As the waters are absorbed or evaporated vast quantities of rank but very nourishing grass abound; and the steeds of the sirdár are let loose upon them. As the season advances, the cattle of the inhabitants are also permitted to graze over them, on the payment of regulated fees. These chamans have all their nuclei of bibulous quagmire; and



they can scarcely be looked upon without the suggestion arising to the imagination that the entire valley was once under water, and that these still tremulous bogs, the deeper portions of them, are testimonies to the fact. Their existence, however, is by no means beneficial to the health of the city; for it cannot fail to be remarked, that in those years when the accumulation of water is large dangerous autumnal fevers prevail, and that the contrary happens under converse conditions. In cases of excess, the ordinary causes of diminution, absorption, and evaporation, are not sufficient to carry off, or dissipate the mass, and the superfluity stagnates towards the close of autumn. The effluvia arising from this putrid collection are borne full upon the city by the prevailing winds, particularly by the northerly winds, or Bâd of Perwân, which incessantly rage at that time of the year, and sweep over the more noxious chamans of Vazírabâd and Bímárú.

Still Kâbal may not be considered an unhealthy city. Its disadvantages, besides these just noted, are, its situation, wedged in, as it were, between two hills, its confined streets and buildings, with the evils consequent upon them. In compensation, it has the benefits of a fine atmosphere, excellent water, and provisions, with delightful environs. A considerable part of the city, from its locality, is deprived of the benefit of the winds from many quarters, as from the west and south. There are



two spots without the city to the east and west, where it is remarked that amid the calm which pervades the intermediate space strong breezes are always playing; the one towards the junction of the two hills, between Chándol and the Púl Jehân Khân, where a constant current of wind drives through the slender aperture, separating them, as through a funnel; the other, as you quit the Bálla Hissár Páhín to the east, where, immediately without the Derwâza Sháh Shéhîd, a northernly breeze incessantly plays.

During the summer and autumnal months, but chiefly during the latter, the city is visited every evening by a khâk-bâd, or whirlwind. As this phenomenon is so very constant, and regular, as to its time of occurrence, showing itself about three or four o'clock, its causes may, no doubt, be sought for in the relative situation of the neighbouring plains and hills. It arises in the north-west, apparently in the barren tracts between Paghmán and Chahâr Dêh, and is impelled with great violence over the city. The complete obscuration of the atmosphere in the direction in which it originates announces its formation; as a furious blast, and sudden decrease of temperature, gave warning of its immediate approach. It is necessary to close windows, but the precaution does not prevent the apartments from being filled with subtile particles of dust. Its duration is short, or so long only as may suffice for its impetuous transit over the city; and it is rarely,

although sometimes attended by a few drops of rain.

The Emperor Baber vaunts the commercial importance of Kâbal, and the consequent resort to it of the merchants of all countries, and the display in its markets of the fabrics and produce of all climes. The eminent advantage possessed by Kâbal is that of locality. It is one which cannot be impaired. It is conferred by nature; and so long as the present conformation and arrangement of hill and plain endure so long will she preserve and enjoy it. There has always been, and there always will be a commercial communication between India and the regions of Tûrkistân. Kâbal, happily situated at the gorge of the nearest and most practicable passes connecting the two countries, will always profit by the intercourse between them. Whether the tide of commerce roll up the Ganges or up the Indus, its course must be directed upon Kâbal.

It is not our purpose here to expatiate on the external trade of the city, but to consider it merely in the character of a capital to a petty state. In the centre of a considerable population, it dispenses to its dependent districts the products of other countries, and stands to them in the relation of a mart for the reception and sale of their produce and manufactures. Of the latter the city has scarcely any to offer of home fabric. Indeed the

manufactures of the country do not rise to mediocrity, and are suitable only to the consumption of the lower and less wealthy classes. If all ranks were of the one description, and satisfied with the humble products of the industry of their native country, no doubt their necessities would be amply supplied. Such is not the case. If great wealth does not prevail, people in easy circumstances are very numerous. A spirit of fashion predominates, and with it an appetite for the novelties and superior fabrics of foreign countries. From the middle classes upwards it would be difficult to find an individual who is clad in the produce of his native looms. Even amongst the lower many are found little satisfied unless they carry on their heads the *lúnghís*, and hide their feet in the shoes of *Pesh-áwer*.

The presence of the court, and of a comparatively large military force, not a little contributes to the bustle and activity to be observed in the city. It also imparts life and vigour to many professions and crafts engaged in the preparation of warlike instruments and necessities.

As a class, the artisans, and there are nearly all descriptions, while not inexpert, and perfectly competent to meet the wants of their customers, do not excel. There is not an article made or wrought in *Kábal* which is not surpassed by specimens from other countries. It is probable that

many of the trades did not exist before the foundation of the monarchy, and they should perhaps be even now considered in a state of progression. A remark perhaps applicable to the whole country. It is cheering to be able to conceit, that the progression is towards improvement.



## CHAPTER XII.

Introduction to Hâjî Khân.—His conversation.—His proposal.—Delay in the Khân's movements.—His letter from Bisût.—Sir-kerder Kamber.—Bisût.—Mîr Yezdânbaksh.—Defeat of Mîr Abbâs.—Decisive authority.—Reputation.—Nâdir's policy.—Persian tribes in Kâbal.—Their influence.—Religious differences and contests.—Precautions of the Shîas.—Power in Bisût.—Humbled by Mîr Yezdânbaksh.—Elevation of Dost Mâhomed Khân.—Mistrust of Dost Mâhomed Khân.—His fears of Mîr Yezdânbaksh.—Plots his destruction.—Invites him to Kâbal.—Counsel of the Mîr's wife.—Seizure of Mîr Yezdânbaksh.—Ransom offered.—Escape of Mîr Yezdânbaksh.—Rebuke to Dost Mâhomed Khân.—Escape of the Mîr's wife.—Pursuit.—Perplexity of pursuers.—Mîr Yezdânbaksh increases his power.—Bisût tribute.—Carriage of Mîr Yezdânbaksh.—Kârzâr.—Defences.—Site.—Invasion of Shêkh Alî tribe.—Hâjî Khân.—His jâghîr.—Afghân territories in Turkistân.—Tâjik and Tâtar chiefs.—Their policy.—Mâhomed Alî Beg.—His forays.—Hâjî Khân's designs.—Baffled by Mâhomed Alî Beg.—Hâjî Khân courts Mîr Yezdânbaksh.—His artful conduct.—Mîr Yezdânbaksh deceived.—Nâib Rêhimdâd.—Gained over by Mâhomed Alî Beg.—Plans of Mîr Yezdânbaksh.—Apprehensions of Mâhomed Alî Beg.—His overtures to Hâjî Khân.—Mîr Yezdânbaksh's measures.—Ivâdnes Bâmiâ.—His successes.—Fear of Dost Mâhomed Khân.—Taghow expedition.—Hâjî Khân's dexterity.—His engagements and oaths.—Hâjî Khân visits Bisût.—His liberality.—Movements of Mîr Yezdânbaksh.—Hâjî Khân farms Bisût tribute.—His renewed oaths.—Earthquake.—Religious strife.—Hâjî Khân's hopes.—Arrangements.—Jealousy between Dost Mâhomed Khân and Hâjî Khân.—Value of Hâjî Khân's jâghîr.—His troops.—His rude countrymen.—Dost Mâhomed Khân's suspicions.—Hâjî Khân's in-

trigues.—Mission from Kúndúz.—Supposed object.—Results.—Rumours.—Hâjî Khân's departure for Bísút.—His progress.—His interview with Mîr Yezdânbaksh.—Auspicious commencement of expedition.—Hâjî Khân's ultimate views.—His brothers.—Despatch of troops against Séghân.

I HAVE before mentioned my intention to visit Bámíán, and the proposal of Hâjî Khân that I should accompany him. Soon after my arrival at Kâbal I requested Súlímân, an Armenian, in a house belonging to whom I resided, to notify to the khân my desire to see him, and was informed that he would send for me by night, when few or no persons were present, that our conversation might be free and unrestrained. I also received a gentle rebuke for having been several days in Kâbal without calling on him. After some time I was summoned; and, accompanied by Súlímân, repaired to the khân's house. Passing a variety of dark passages, continually ascending, the buildings here being built upon the brow of a hill, I was finally introduced to the khân, sitting in a small apartment, to enter which we were obliged to creep, as the aperture of admission, or door, if it must be so called, was of very scanty dimensions. There were some eight or ten persons present of his own household, and I was saluted with a profusion of terms of civility and welcome; the khân styled me *raffik*, or companion, and rejoiced at seeing me again. He informed me that he was going to Bámíán, and that he should be happy if I could

accompany him. He then entered into a florid description of the interesting objects there, the immense colossal statues, the samúches, the ruins of Gúlghúleh, and the castle of Zohák, which he portrayed in a very lively manner. He gave an account of the metals to be found in the hills, asserting there were gold, silver, copper, lead, antimony, &c.&c., adding, that he and his people were khurs, or asses, and did not know how to extract them. The affairs of Turkey, Egypt, and Persia, were also duly discussed; and the khân alluded to Buonaparte, affirming he had been told, that his son was to prove Dadjâl.\* I had been told of the detention of Sikandar, or Lieutenant Burnes, at Kúndúz, and mentioned it to the khân, who had not heard of it, and was surprised. He remarked, that the Afghâns were devils. I replied, it was true, but they were good devils. At which he smiled, and rejoined, that the Uzbeks were devils altogether. After a long desultory conversation, the khân coming to the essential point, acquainted me, that owing to Músúlmání scruples he should not march from Kábal until after the 13th of the next month, Saffar, (it being considered unlucky to do so,) but he hoped that I would wait till that time. In the interim he desired me to amuse myself freely in the environs of the city; and telling me his horses were at my command, I received my dismissal.

\* Antichrist.



The 13th of Saffar passed, and there was no sign of movement on part of the khân. Month after month followed; and it was not until the month of Rabbí-as-Sâní that he left Kâbal: which he did without signifying his departure to me. I might reasonably have felt surprise, but rather indulged the conjecture that the khân was acting prudently towards me; and so it proved. As soon as he reached Bisút he forwarded me a letter, through Múlla Ibrahim Khân, his náib at Kâbal,—in which, after begging many pardons for his forgetfulness of me, which he imputed to the multiplicity of his affairs, he earnestly entreated me to join his camp, whence he would expedite me, in care of approved men, to visit Bámián. He moreover directed Múlla Ibrahim Khân to provide attendants to escort me to camp. I now prepared for the journey, hired a yábú (pony), and engaged a neighbour, named Yusef, to attend it. It chanced that one Kamber, of Abyssinian extraction, who had formerly been sirkerder, or chief of the Hábbashes under Sháh Máhmúd, and now in the khân's service, was about to proceed to the camp, and hearing that I was going, came and offered his attendance and services. These were gladly accepted, the sirkerder being a man of trust, and valuable from his experience; and our arrangements being completed, it was decided that we should start from Kâbal on the 4th of the Máhomedan month Jamadí-owal.

I shall here premise such observations as may be



necessary to render intelligible the circumstances interwoven with the subsequent narrative. The Hazára districts between Kabal and Bámíán are collectively called Bísút; and málíia, or tribute, is enforced from them by the authorities of Kábal. This fluctuates in actual receipt, but the registered amount is 40,000 rupees. Some twenty or twenty-five years since the superior chief of Bísút was Mír Walí Beg, of Kârzâr. He was treacherously slain by an inferior chief, the Vakíl Sifúlah, at Síáh Sang (black rock), a spot in the valley leading from Kârzâr to the vale of the Helmand. Mír Walí Beg had twelve sons, the elder of whom, Mír Máhoméd Shah, became Mír of Bísút. The younger of these sons, Mír Yezdânbaksh, assembled troops, defeated and took prisoner the Vakíl Sifúlah, whom he slew at the same spot (Síáh Sang) where his father had been sacrificed. Mír Yezdânbaksh next directed his arms against his eldest brother, Mír Máhoméd Sháh, whom he compelled to fly to Kábal. He now assumed the mírship, but his claim was contested by an intermediate brother, Mír Abbás. The fortune of Mír Yezdânbaksh prevailed, and Mír Abbás suffered defeat; but the former, alike unwilling to proceed to extremities with a brother, and anxious to secure to his interests a gallant soldier, tendered a reconciliation, which Mír Abbás accepted, and for some time resided with his brother. He was induced, however, to make a second struggle for supremacy, was again worsted,

and again reconciled ; since which his obedience has been constant. Mír Yezdânbaksh, the acknowledged lord of Bísút, turned his attention to the affairs of his province, and by the humiliation of the several petty chiefs, established a more decisive authority than any former mír had enjoyed. Inexorable to the haughty, and such as opposed his plans, he was equally careful of the interests of the subject, and his name was venerated among the Hazáras. The high road between Kâbal and Bá-mián led through his territory, and had hitherto been a theatre for forays and depredations : forays from the independent Hazáras of Shékh Alí, and depredations from the inhabitants of Bísút. By the energetic measures of Mír Yezdânbaksh order was restored ; the road became safe ; the Hazáras of Shékh Alí dared not make their appearance, and the people of Bísút became as eager to show civility as they had been before to offend, while the single traveller passed as securely as if in company with a host. To kâfilas the chief was particularly attentive, and merchants were diligent in spreading his praises and renown. It was evident that a chief of superior ability had arisen among the Hazáras, and he became an object of much attention both to the Shías and government of Kâbal ; the former congratulating themselves in having a potent ally in case of need, the latter apprehensive of his views, and of the effects of a consolidated authority in the Hazárajât

It may be noted, that one of Nádir Sháh's features of policy was the colonization of the countries he conquered, and in pursuance thereof he encouraged settlement in Afghánistân by the various tribes of the vast Persian empire. At the time of his death numbers, under such intention, had reached Meshed, and were subsequently invited by Ahmed Sháh Dúrání; while a large Persian force, escorting treasure from India at that critical period, were also induced to enter the employ of the new Afghán sovereign, and renounced their native country. Hence at Kâbal, at this day, are found, Júânshírs, Kúrds, Rikas, Afshárs, Baktiáris, Sháh Sewâns, Tálishes, Báiyáts, in short, representatives of every Persian tribe. Under Ahmed Sháh, and his successors, they formed the principal portion of the Ghúlám Khâna, or household troops; and the appellation they still preserve. Like their fathers, they are Shías by religion. They have exceedingly multiplied, and become affluent, and, decidedly, are the most powerful and influential body in the city of Kâbal, of which they occupy one half, and exclusively the quarter called Chándol, which is fortified. They occupy also many castles in the vicinity of the city. An unextinguishable rancour is known to exist between the two leading sects of Máhomedanism, the Shía and the Súní, which, however for a while dormant, or concealed by consent of both, is ever ready to burst forth upon the most trivial occasion; and this circumstance has been taken advantage of by the



intriguers of Kâbal, who, when determined upon subverting the existing government, have only to excite a jang Shîa and Sûnî to effect their object. As soon as the contest is fairly commenced in the city the rude hordes of Paghmân, Koh Dâman, and Kohistân flock to it, animated equally by zeal for what they believe the orthodox faith, and by thirst of plunder. Hostilities and confusion continue until the desired change in authority is produced, when saiyads, and other worthies, interpose, and a temporary calm is restored. The Shîas of Kâbal, aware of their constant exposure to conflict, and of the possibility of defeat, have endeavoured to provide for such a calamity by securing for themselves an asylum. They have, therefore, turned their eyes upon Bîsût, where the most wealthy of them have purchased castles and lands, and have, in fact, become joint proprietors of the soil with the Hazâras. Prior to the sway of Mîr Yezdânbaksh they possessed a paramount superiority in Bîsût, arising not from power of force but from that of the influence which they possessed over the mîrs, divided in councils and feeble in talents, and who were glad to avail themselves of their mediation and support in their domestic quarrels and transactions with the Afghân authorities. Mîr Yezdânbaksh, early made it apparent that he would allow no rival or controlling influence in Bîsût, and even confiscated some estates of such Kâbal Shîas who had favoured his opponents; and it became manifest to the re-



mainder that to enjoy their properties they must submit to conciliate the favour of the new chief. The general good understanding between the Kâbal Shîas and the Hazâras was not disturbed by these occurrences; the former, indeed, found that they could no longer dictate in Bîsût; but alliances, as before, were contracted between the principal families of either; and the daily increasing power of the Bîsût mîr was an universal subject of triumph and exultation.

We now come to the period when, after the elevation and degradation of numerous shâhzâdas, after a flagrant series of civil dissensions, cabals, intrigues, treacheries, perjuries, confiscations, and assassinations, the inhabitants of Kâbal, disgusted with the tyrannic and oppressive government of Shîr Dil Khân, and his minister, Khodâ Nazzar, entered into negotiation with his brother, Dost Máhomed Khân, then a fugitive in the Kohistân; and Shîr Dil Khân, unable to contend with the combination against him, abandoned the city and retired to Kândahâr. There was a prepossession among the Shîas of Kâbal in favour of Dost Máhomed Khân, on account of his mother being a Kazzilbâsh. No doubt they principally contributed to his accession to power; and on attaining it he was assiduous in attention to them.

Dost Máhomed Khân was an Afghân. He had gained Kâbal; his first cares were to look around him, and discover if there was any one near him

likely or able to disturb him in its possession, and to destroy, by any means, the mistrusted person or persons. The state-prison of the Sadú Zaí princes had long been empty; the descendants of Ahmed Shâh were dispersed in foreign climes; not one of them remained in Kâbal that an enemy could erect into a monarch for the day; his brothers of Kândahâr and Peshâwer, although hostile to him, were unable seriously to annoy him, being too much occupied in providing for their own security, the first against Kâmrân of Herât, the last against Ranjit Singh of Lahore,—the Khâns of the Dûrání tribes had perished in the field, or under the hands of the executioner, and their families were in exile, or destitute. But Dost Mâhomed Khân was uneasy; he beheld, amid the bleak hills and wilds of the Hazâras, a chieftain, able in council and valiant in the field, extending his power in every direction,—a power not ephemeral, but promising to be durable, being raised by superior genius, and consolidated by good faith. He was aware that the Shías of Kâbal had been the instruments of his elevation—they might become those of his degradation. Already too powerful, they were irresistible if joined by Mír Yezdânbaksh. He saw his safety only in the destruction of that chief, which he in consequence planned. Profiting by the cordiality subsisting between himself and the Shías, he represented to them that he held the character of Mír Yezdânbaksh in high

esteem, and desired to establish a personal acquaintance with him; and he requested them to employ their influence to induce the chief to visit Kâbal. They made communications to Mîr Yezdânbaksh; and Dost Mâhomed Khân forwarded to him a Korân, with his seal affixed, as a solemn pledge for his safety; for which also the principals of the Shîas, at the Kâbal chief's suggestion, became guarantees. Mîr Yezdânbaksh, who had not hitherto come into collision with the Afghâns, apprehending no hostility from one to whom he had given no cause for enmity, decided to visit Dost Mâhomed Khân, calculating on making arrangements relative to Bísút which might be mutually beneficial. One of his wives (a daughter of a Deh Zanghî chief) alone cautioned him not to repair to Kâbal. This lady, of masculine understanding and habits, was accustomed, arrayed in male attire, well armed and mounted, to accompany her lord in his expeditions; she fought by his side in the field, and out of it assisted him in his councils. It was usual with her, on every occasion, to recommend to the mîr never to place himself in the power of the Afghâns. The Hazâra mîr, on this occasion, listened not to her advice; and she, unable to dissuade him from his purpose, evinced her fidelity by accompanying him, although her mind foreboded every disaster. The pair, arrived at Kâbal, were courteously received by Dost Mâhomed Khân; but, on the first favourable op-



portunity, Mír Yezdânbaksh was seized and confined a prisoner, as was his wife. The Afghân chief would immediately have slain his captive; but the latter, aware of Afghân cupidity, intimated his willingness to pay fifty thousand rupees for his ransom, provided he was released immediately, that he might repair to Kârzâr and collect it, the Jûânshîrs of Kâbal becoming bondsmen for its due payment. Dost Máhoméd Khân, remarkably needy, without any design of sparing the Hazára chief, was nevertheless anxious, by some fraud or other, to obtain his property, and therefore rescinded the orders for immediate execution, that he might concert measures for so doing. While these were in agitation, Mír Yezdânbaksh found means to escape, and reached Bísút. Exasperated at the escape of his intended victim, Dost Máhoméd Khân, in the first transports of his rage, resolved to immolate his wife, and ordered her to be brought before him, when he reviled her in opprobrious terms. The Hazára Amazon exclaimed, "Oh, son of Pâhînda Khân, art thou not ashamed to array thyself against a female?" It is said, that the Afghân chief was abashed, and hung down his head. There were not wanting men of influence amongst the Afghâns, who, admiring the woman's magnanimity, deprecated any species of violence being offered to her; and Dost Máhoméd Khân himself, perhaps recovering his reason,



consented that she should be placed in custody of the Kazzilbâshes, who would treat her with more kindness than Afghâns. She was accordingly conveyed to Chândol, whence, in a short time, she also fled, attired as a male, and well armed and mounted, her escape probably favoured or connived at by her gaolers. On her flight becoming known to Dost Máhoméd Khân, he despatched a small party of horse in pursuit of her, and these came up with her in the valley of Honai, immediately before entering the Hazára territory. Finding herself overtaken, she turned about and presented her matchlock, and, by alternately advancing and halting, keeping her pursuers at bay, she gained the kotal, or pass of Honai, which being Hazára soil, pursuit was abandoned. The lady's good fortune was principally owing, of course, to the indecision of her pursuers; they had proceeded with sufficient alacrity in chase, but, on reaching the object of it, as men and soldiers, felt perplexed how to secure it, and ashamed to attack a female. The heroine joined her husband at Kârzâr, to his great satisfaction. She has since paid the debt of nature.

Mír Yezdânbaksh had no sooner regained his liberty than he applied himself with unwearied assiduity to the extension of his power among the Hazâras. Although his sentiments towards the chief of Kâbal could not be doubted, he refrained

from manifesting any ill will towards the Afghâns, and kâfilas passed to and fro from Kâbal to Tûr-kistân with the same security as before.

The collection of the Hazâra mállia, or tribute, Dost Máhomed Khân had confided to his brother Amír Máhomed Khân, the chief of Ghazní, who, for this purpose, made annual incursions into Bísút. Mír Yezdânbaksh did not indeed assist him in the collection, as before wont to do, but while punctually making over the portion immediately due from himself, left him to exercise his discretion, and to do as well as he could with the several petty and refractory chieftains; nor did he join his camp until it was far advanced in the province, and then with so powerful a force as to defy treachery. The principal castle and residence of Mír Walí Beg, father of Mír Yezdânbaksh, was at Kârzâr, a valley watered by a fine rivulet leading from the base of the kotal, or pass Hâjikak, to Girdan Díwâl and the valley of the Helmand. Mír Yezdânbaksh erected a new castle adjacent to, but on the opposite side of the rivulet; the walls he intended to raise to the height of twenty-five pakhsas, or about fifty feet, while their breadth was eleven pakhsas, or about twenty-two feet. About fourteen pakhsas, or twenty-eight feet of the height had been effected in 1832. The castle was rectangular, in common with other Hazâra castles, but much larger than they generally are, and the entrance was defended by towers, after the mode in vogue

at Kândahâr. The walls and towers were perforated with apertures for the insertion of matchlocks, which, although really weakening them, by their disposition and regularity contributed to embellishment. In this castle the mir laid in large stores of lead and powder. Untenable against a regular force, and perhaps so even against an Afghân army, it might be considered impregnable in a war of úlús, or of the tribes. Its site was admirable, completely commanding the high road, which led immediately under its wall.

Mír Yezdânbaksh had united himself by marriage to the Hazára chiefs of Deh Zanghí and Shékh Alí; but among the latter tribe, there being some chiefs inimical to him, he marched against them, and chastised them, as well as the several petty tribes in the vicinity of Ghorband.

Among the Afghân khâns who had been serviceable to Dost Máhoméd Khân in his designs upon Kâbal, was Táj Máhoméd Khân, Khâkâ, or Hâjí Khân, as commonly called; on more than one occasion he had preserved him from being blinded, if not put to death, by his brother, Shír Dil Khân. Dost Máhoméd Khân, on accession to power, in return for his services, bestowed upon him, in jághír, the district of Bámiân, with its dependencies, for the support of himself and troops, limited to three hundred and fifty cavalry. The Afghân influence, it may be noted, in the time of Shâh Zemân, extended to the Amú, or Oxus; at that period, how-



ever, it was considerably lessened by the wary and able conduct of the celebrated Killich Alí Beg of Balkh, and pending the convulsions in Afghânistân, subsequent to the blinding of Shâh Zemân, was lost altogether. On the death of Killich Alí Beg, Balkh became a dependency on Bokhâra, his sons holding authority at Khûlm and Haibak, as vassals to Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg, the chief of Kúndúz, who seized the opportunity of extending his arms and influence, and became, what he now is, the most powerful Usbek prince south of the Amú; Bámiân, with its contiguous districts of Gandak, and Ak Robát to the north; Súrkhdar and Júí Fóládí to the west; Kâlú to the south, and Irâk and Shibr to the east, only remained to the Afghâns.

North of Ak Robát, now become the northern frontier of the Afghâns, and between it and the acknowledged limits of Kúndúz, are many petty chieftains, Tâjík and Tátar, who for many years have availed themselves of the disinclination of Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg to provoke a war with the Afghâns, and of the inability of the latter to attack the chief of Kúndúz, to maintain a kind of independence, asserting, if pressed by the Afghâns, that they pay tribute to the Usbeks, and if incommoded by the Usbeks, that they are tributaries to the Afghâns; while, by making annually small presents of horses to both parties, they preserve appearances with each, and their little estates from invasion. The principal of these are the Tâjík



chiefs Máhoméd Ali Beg, of Séghân, Ráhmátúláh Beg, of Káhmérd, and Nasrúláh Beg, of Ajer, with the Tatar chiefs, Sirdár Saiyad Máhoméd Khán, Sháh Pessand, Ferhâd, &c. resident on the Dasht Saféd.

In order that the events subsequently to be related may be more clearly comprehended, it is necessary to note that the first named of the Tájik chiefs, Máhoméd Ali Beg, of Séghân, was a man of considerable political dexterity and military enterprize. With no other legitimate resources than a scanty revenue, derived from his small territory, and the báj, or duty levied from passing káfilas; he maintained four hundred horse, which he subsisted by forays upon the Hazára districts to the south and south-west of Séghân, carrying off men, women, and children, whom he sold to the Usbeks. One year he had ventured to proceed to Déh Zanghí, and had exacted the payment of a year's mállia, or tribute. It was natural that he should become an object of dread and execration to the Hazáras, and he was, in fact, the Nimrod of these regions,

“A mighty hunter, for his prey was man.”

So soon as Hâjí Khán obtained the government of Bámián his attention, for several reasons, was directed to the extension of his influence in the direction of Túrústân, and the possession of Séghân and Káhmérd he deemed essential to his designs; but as he was himself constrained to be present

at Kábal, he was obliged to entrust his affairs in those quarters to his náibs, or deputies, whom Máhoméd Ali Beg ever found means to amuse and to outwit, and the khân's projects towards the close of 1832 had no farther advanced towards maturity than at the period of their conception. He was, or feigned to be, exceedingly incensed against Máhoméd Ali Beg.

Bámíán being separated from the districts of Kábal by the whole breadth of Bísút, it is evident that Mír Yezdânbaksh had the power at any time to cut off all communication between the two places, and even to overrun the former, if hostilely inclined. Hâjî Khân, therefore, at an early period, sought to cultivate a good understanding with the Hazára chief. The Afghân khân, a profound master in dissimulation, had hitherto contrived in his public career to pass himself off as a man of veracity, and of fidelity to any cause he espoused; and although a few may have had penetration sufficient to question his integrity, it is certain that no public character in Afghânistán stood in so high or universal esteem.

Such favourable impressions of his character availed him in his attempt to attach the Shíás of Kábal to his party, and in his overtures to Mír Yezdânbaksh. He taught the former to believe that in any religious contest they would behold the most able of Dost Máhoméd Khân's sirdárs an ally under their banners, as in his public capa-

city he looked to the equal protection of all classes of subjects, whether Shías or Súnís, and the preservation of order, without reference to matters of faith. He taught the latter to believe, that he might secure a friend, independently of any considerations as to Dost Máhoméd Khán, and pledged himself to frustrate any evil designs of that chief, even at the risk of being reputed in rebellion. The Shías of Kábal reiterated to Mír Yezdánbaksh the amicable sentiments of the Khán, and he so far consented to a mutual good understanding as to pledge, on his part, that he would hold Bámiân inviolate, and allow two soldiers of the khán to be stationed at certain castles in the line of road from Sir Chishma to Kâlú, to provide for the wants and conveniences of the khán's people, who might pass to and fro.

The khán assigned Mír Yezdánbaksh an annual allowance of one hundred kharwárs of wheat, Mír Báẓ Alí fifty kharwárs of wheat, and chiefs of inferior note smaller allowances of grain, from the produce of Bámiân, sparing no means in his power to ingratiate himself into the good-will of the Hazára chieftains.

In 1830 Hájí Khán, nominated as náib in Bámiân Réhimdád Khán, his relative, a man of business, and personally brave. He had instructions to proceed to extremities with Máhoméd Alí Beg, and in conformity thereto marched in the direction of Séghân. Just so much skirmishing followed



that one or two men were wounded on either side, when he also was gained over by Máhoméd Alí Beg, and returned to Bámiân, reporting to the khân at Kábal, as instructed by the Tâjik chief, that it was necessary to secure Máhoméd Alí Beg's friendship, and to provide against the designs of Mír Yezdânbaksh. Réhimdád Khân had hitherto been friendly to the mír; he now became an avowed enemy.

It had long been a favourite object with Mír Yezdânbaksh, and one universally cherished by the Hazáras, to exterminate the chief of Séghân, infamous from his frequent forays, and for vindicating the sale of captives on plea of their being Shías and infidels. In pursuance of his intended measures, Mír Yezdânbaksh had gained over to his interests the Tátar chiefs of the Dasht Saféd, which, of course, became known to Máhoméd Alí Beg, who also in some manner had offended Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg, of Kúndúz, and could not look to him for assistance, while he was at variance with his neighbour Ráhmátúlah Beg, of Káhmerd. He saw himself on the eve of a contest with the Hazáras, to whom he had only his own feeble resources to oppose; and to rescue himself from impending destruction he resolved, if possible, to court the Afghâns; and now that he had secured Réhimdád Khân in his interests, his offer of services and tender of submission were made with perfect sincerity, his only fear was that they would not be accepted by Hâjí Khân.



Mír Yezdânbaksh on receiving intelligence of the arrangements made between Máhoméd Alí Beg and Réhimdád Khân, did not doubt but that the latter acted in conformity with instructions from Kâbal, and, convinced that any league to which Máhoméd Alí Beg was a party must prove injurious to his interests, instantly resolved on decisive measures. He ejected the soldiers of Hâjí Khân stationed in the castles of Bísút, and with a considerable force marched into Kálú, the Hazára chief of which, Mír Zaffar, joined his standard. Thence he proceeded into Irák, the inhabitants of which he put under heavy contributions. From Irák he marched into Shibr, and alike exacted large quantities of cattle, grain, and roghan; his ally Mír Zaffar here also obtained two thousand sheep. From Shibr the Hazára chief passed by Irák into the valley of Bámiân, where the several proprietors of castles either voluntarily repaired to his camp or were intimidated into submission. The most powerful of these was Alladád Khân, Moghal, who occupied an ancient castle, now called Saiyadabád, adjacent to the ruinous citadel of Ghúlghúleh. This man had ever set the governors of Bámiân at defiance, and now espoused the cause of Mír Yezdânbaksh with alacrity. The whole of the castles of Bámiân were obedient to the mír, excepting the one in which the governor for Hâjí Khân resided, opposite the celebrated colossal statues. Therein he invested Réhimdád Khân, and imposed jirim, or

finer, at pleasure, on the individuals of the district obnoxious to him.

These events happened in 1830. Bámiân appeared on the point of being lost to the Afghâns, and the chief of Kâbal became more than ever apprehensive of the ultimate designs of a powerful chief, who in attacking one of his provinces made it manifest that he did not shrink from a contest with him. This year the Kâbal chief was also engaged in an expedition against Taghow, to the north-east of Kâbal, which prevented him from giving immediate attention to the affairs of Bámiân and Bísút. Hâjî Khân accompanied him, and had no difficulty in agreeing with his chief that it was necessary in some mode or other to circumvent Mír Yezdânbaksh, a service which he proffered to perform.

As a remedy was necessary for the emergency of the moment, the dexterity of Hâjî Khân, who was particularly interested for the safety of his jâghír, was exercised—his Shíá friends were put forward; and they induced Mír Yezdânbaksh to evacuate Bámiân. By their means he persuaded Mír Yezdânbaksh that Réhimdád Khân had acted without orders; to confirm which he appointed in his place another governor for Bámiân; he also sent a Korân, by which he swore to forget what had past, and that he would not in any manner molest Mír Zaffar of Kâlú, or any other of the Hazára and Tájík chieftains, his dependents, who

had sided with Mír Yezdánbaksh ; and he farther swore that he would personally exterminate Máhoméd Ali Beg, or compel him to supplicate for mercy at the feet of the Hazáras.

In 1831 Amír Máhoméd Khân, as usual, entered Bísút to collect málíia, and Hâjí Khân at the same period proceeded there, having obtained an order on Amír Máhoméd Khân for six thousand rupees. This he readily obtained from Dost Máhoméd Khân, urging, in advertence to his promises the preceding year of ensnaring Mír Yezdánbaksh, the propriety of adopting preliminary measures. His principal object was, no doubt, to examine the country ; and while in it he comported himself with unsparing liberality and indulgence to the Hazáras ; and such manners and conduct so contrasting with the stern severity and even cruelty of Amír Máhoméd, procured for him a very high character in the Hazárajât. Mír Yezdánbaksh refused this season to attend the Afghân camp, and at the head of two thousand horse marched, as he said, on pilgrimage to the zíarat (shrine) of Házzrat Alí, at Band Amír, or Band Berber, as generally called, seated a little north of Yek Auleng, and south-east not very distant from Séghân. Thither he went ; but having settled his religious affairs, he applied his attention to his political ones, and marched to the valley of Séghân, where on two or three successive days he drew up his forces in order of battle, inviting Máhoméd Alí Beg to a conflict, which the Tâjik



chief declining, he decamped and returned to Kârzâr.

In the early part of 1832 Hâjî Khân stood a candidate for the collection of the Bísút mállia for the year. From the transactions which had occurred at Bámíân, it was clear that the province was in a precarious state of allegiance; and the khân might reasonably enough represent that it required no less authority than his own to reduce it to order, and to teach the several Hazára and Tâjik chiefs that they were raiyats, or subjects of Kâbal, and not allies or partisans of Mír Yezdân-baksh. The destruction of that chief being also undoubtedly a secret condition, Dost Máhoméd Khân appointed Hâjî Khân to the collection of the Bísút mállia, which was farmed to him for forty thousand rupees; after the collection of which he was to proceed and settle the affairs of Bámíân. The Kâbal chief engaged to furnish him with fifteen hundred horse, two guns, and an elephant, in addition to his own quota of troops.

Hâjî Khân's whole attention was now directed to his preparations for the expedition into Bísút and Bámíân. He was assiduous in cultivating friendship with Mír Yezdân-baksh, and in inspiring him with confidence through the means principally of Khân Sherín Khân, the principal of the Júânshírs at Kâbal; he succeeded, the Mír promising to act in cordial co-operation with him—the annihilation of Máhoméd Alí Beg being ever a leading topic



in the negotiations. Hâjî Khân despatched no less than seven kalâm-múllas, or oaths, upon the Korân at various times, as solemn vouchers for the sincerity of his engagements.

In the month of Mohoram (June) an event happened at Kâbal which tended greatly to confirm Mír Yezdânbaksh and the Shías of Kâbal in their good opinions of Hâjî Khân. A very smart earthquake occurred, which about an hour after was followed by a conflict between the Shías and Súnís at the city, in consequence of some Atchak Zai Afghâns, neighbours of the Júânshírs, interrupting the celebration, by the latter, of the commemoration of the death of the sons of Alí. Some lives were lost on the occasion, and on the intelligence reaching Hâjî Khân, who at the time was confined to his couch, he despatched the ever-ready Korân to Khân Sherín Khân, and swore himself prepared to stand by the Shías. He probably expected that the conflict would become general, and that the rude tribes of the Kohistân would hasten to defend the orthodox faith; but aware that the Shías, from their superior intelligence and union, were likely ultimately to prevail over their more barbarous opponents, he feigned to espouse their cause, as their triumph, or the convulsion that would follow would involve the subversion of Dost Máhoméd Khân's authority, which was exactly what he wished. It did not, however, happen so. The Shías, indeed, manned the walls and towers of their for-

tified residences for some days ; but the combat was not renewed, and a truce being gained for negotiation, Hâjî Khân, now recovered from his disorder, was appointed vakîl, or agent, on part of the Afghâns, as the Nâwab Jabâr Khân was on part of the Jûânshîrs. The principal point to accommodate was the compensation for the blood that had been shed, the loss of which was chiefly on the Afghân side ; and Hâjî Khân favouring the Jûânshîrs, matters were so contrived that the affair, without being arranged, was suffered to die away.

It is time to observe that between Hâjî Khân and the chief of Kâbal a mutual distrust had for some time existed. The latter, a man of great ability, is naturally suspicious ; and Hâjî Khân had become very influential and powerful. His jâghîr was originally fixed at 72,000 rupees per annum, Bâmiân being valued at 55,000 rupees per annum, half the sayar, or transit-duties of Chârikâr in the Kohistân at 10,000 rupees per annum ; Robât, near the latter place, with villages at Sir Chishma and Loghar, completing the amount. The Khân derived from Bâmiân, as he assured me, 120,000 rupees per annum ; the half of the transit-duties of Chârikâr also much exceeded the sum fixed, as did the revenues of all his villages. There can be little doubt but that at this time the Khân was in receipt of a lākḥ and half of rupees from his jae-dad, valued at less than half the amount. The quota of troops he should entertain was limited

to three hundred and fifty horse; he had in pay above seven hundred, and, with foot soldiers, he had certainly a thousand soldiers in his service. The *khân* was of the *Kháká* tribe of *Afghâns*, whose seats are in the hilly regions on the south-eastern confines of *Afghânistân*, where they are neighbours of the *Baloches*. He was entirely a soldier of fortune, and his great fame drew numbers of his rude and destitute countrymen around him. These on their arrival at *Kábal* in their ragged felts and uncouth attire were a spectacle to the inhabitants. The *khân* always sent such men to *Bámíân*, where they were quartered upon the inhabitants, and progressively as he was able to provide, received clothes, arms, and horses. To many he assigned lands; some formed villages; and, had his plans matured, *Bámíân* would have been colonized by *Kháká Afghâns*. Such circumstances may have been sufficient to attract the attention of *Dost Máhoméd Khân*, whose vigilance and penetration they were not likely to escape; but the whole political deportment of *Hájí Khân* was calculated to excite the mistrust of a chief, in whose character jealousy is a principal ingredient. He had induced *Dost Máhoméd Khân* to despatch his brother, *Dáoud Máhoméd Khân*, on a mission to *Lahore*; it was whispered to *Dost Máhoméd Khân*, that the envoy had rather furthered his brother's objects than those of his mission—and whether he had or not, *Dost Máhoméd*



Khân's suspicions were excited. Hâjî Khân moreover, maintained a regular correspondence with foreign princes, as those of Balochistân and Sind, while his intrigues and connexions with the various ghúnds, or factions in Kâbal were notorious, under whatever colour he might represent them, or seek to excuse them to Dost Máhoméd Khân.

In the summer of this year (1832) Díwan Atmar, the Hindú minister, and confidant of Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg of Kúndúz, arrived, on a mission at Kâbal. The Uzbek chieftain, sufficiently rude and barbarous, is, nevertheless, the most able and energetic ruler in Túrkiestân, and is strongly suspected to regret that no opportunity presents itself to allow his interference in the affairs of Kâbal. As it is, he has no party there; and the Díwân's object was generally supposed to be for the purpose of forming one, and making a political reconnoissance. His avowed purpose was to conclude a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Dost Máhoméd Khân, and to unite by a family alliance the rulers of Kâbal and Kúndúz. Dost Máhoméd Khân, remarkably shrewd, politely declined any kind of treaty or alliance. Among his nobles who reprobated a connexion with the Uzbeks, no one was so prominent as Hâjî Khân. Yet, from subsequent events, there is every probability that the khân formed an intimate connexion himself with the Díwân; and while in the darbâr he contended with so much vehemence against Máhoméd Morád Beg, he privately, through



the Dîwân, pledged himself to advance his views in another and more effectual way.

Whatever may have passed was probably known to Dost Máhoméd Khân, and he possibly repented having appointed Hâjî Khân to the collection of the Bísút mállia. To annul the appointment would have been ungracious and irritating, and therefore he contemplated to seize the khân,—in his estimation too powerful for a subject, and become dangerous,—and at once remove all uneasiness and apprehension. But the Kâbal chief could more readily conceive than execute so decisive a measure; and while his irresolution continued, his intentions became known, and that Hâjî Khân was selected for a victim became the current chit-chat of the day. The chief's irresolution, the publicity of his design, and the new turn of ideas occasioned by the accounts about this time received of Shâh Sújâh's projects, conduced to the safety of Hâjî Khân; and his chief, unwillingly, but without help, allowed him to depart from Kâbal; but to cripple him in his operations as much as possible, instead of fifteen hundred cavalry, originally arranged to have been furnished him, about three hundred were commissioned for the service of Bísút.

Hâjî Khân had expended above 12,000 rupees in the purchase of Kashmírian and British manufactured shâls, lúnghís, and dresses of descriptions to be distributed as khelats. He had originally in-

tended to have left the city in the month of Safar, as before noted, but he did not take his departure until the month of Rabbí-as-Sání, when he encamped at Aliabád, about a coss distant; here he halted some days, and shifted his quarters to Killa Kází, where a second halt of some days occurred; thence he finally marched for Bísút by the valley of Jelléz and Sir Chishma. The motive assigned for these delays, was the prudence of allowing time for the Hazáras to collect their harvests, that there might be a certainty of provender for the horses of the army. The real cause was the difficulty the khán found to raise funds to enable him to put his troops in motion. The khán was accompanied in his expedition by two of his wives, the most favoured; a circumstance by his admirers imputed to his fearless spirit.

At Sir Chishma the khán summoned Mír Yezdánbaksh to meet him on the frontier of Bísút, who returned for answer that he would first deliver over the tribute due immediately from himself, as a proof of his fidelity and good faith, and next wait upon the khán. The khán therefore crossed the kotal Honai, and by short stages passing the plain of Yúrt, arrived at Girdan Díwál in the valley of the Helmand. By this time Mír Yezdánbaksh had made over the tribute from Bísút dependent upon him, which in former years had given Amír Máhomed Khán so much trouble, and had taken so much time to collect, and advanced to an interview with

the khân. This took place on the crest of a small eminence called the Kotal Girdan Díwâl. The Hazára chief halted in line his force of fifteen hundred cavalry, and advanced alone. Hâjî Khân did the same, and in presence of the two forces the mír and khân met and embraced each other. Mír Yezdânbaksh affirmed, that he should consider the khân's enemies as his own, whether Hazáras, Uzbeks, or others, and asked only one favour, that in the day of battle he might be placed in front. This meeting was succeeded by a renewal of oaths; and Hâjî Khân affianced one of his infant sons to an infant daughter of Mír Yezdânbaksh. Nothing could be more auspicious than the commencement of this expedition; satisfaction and confidence were general, and the united Afghân and Hazára army moved along the banks of the Helmand; the Hazára chiefs, vying with each other in delivering their tribute, in emulous imitation of their superior mír, who attended at once to prevent any evasion and to provide for the entertainment of his guest the khân.

With the knowledge of subsequent events, it is impossible to decide what the real intentions of Hâjî Khân were on quitting Kâbal; although it may be conjectured that he had determined, if possible, not to return there. He knew that he had become an object of suspicion to the Amír, and he knew that no Afghân spares even a supposed enemy, if he possess the power to destroy him. He may have considered it possible, with the alli-



ance of Mír Yezdânbaksh, to have maintained himself independently at Bámíân, or, if he preferred a connexion with the Uzbeks, he had paved the way for it by his intercourse with Díwân Atmar. The possible appearance of Shâh Sújah in the field, if other chances failed, would give him an opportunity, in possession of Bámíân and commanding the resources of Bísút, of rendering the Shâh an important service, and of enhancing his claims in the distribution of favour, which would follow his re-accession to sovereignty. Like every Afghân, however, he was essentially the child of circumstances: his grand object was to preserve himself, and, if possible, at the same time to signalize himself; but his ability, great as it was, like that of all Afghâns, while it sufficed to enable him to accommodate himself to and profit by circumstances, was not adequate to enable him to direct and command them.

Hâjî Khân at this time had four brothers; one, Gúl Máhoméd Khân, was resident at Toba, in the Khâká country; two, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân, and Khân Máhoméd Khân, were in the service of Amír Máhoméd Khân, at Ghazní; and the fourth, Dost Máhoméd Khân, was attached personally to Hâjî Khân, and accompanied him. The two brothers from Ghazní, it was arranged, should join his camp in Bísút with their followers; and, as a strong confirmation that he had little idea of returning to Kábal, he had invited Gúl Máhoméd Khân to repair from Toba to Bámíân, with as large a body



of his countrymen as he might be able to raise. The three first-named were all able and gallant leaders; Dost Máhoméd Khân was less assuming.

Having conducted the Khân to the banks of the Helmand, with his Hazára auxiliaries, from whence he wrote to me, the narrative may turn to the detail of our progress to join him, and of the incidents which afterwards fell out; we should note, however, that after the first meeting with Mír Yezdânbaksh at Girdan Díwâl, some two thousand Hazára infantry were despatched to act in conjunction with the Khân's troops at Bámiân, in the reduction of Séghân, the country of Máhoméd Alí Beg; and, in justice perhaps to ourselves, it may be premised, that at the time we were perfectly unacquainted with the Khân's political views and ideas, and proceeded to his camp with no other object than of examining, under favourable circumstances, the antiquities of Bámiân.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Departure from Kábal.—Arghandī.—Kotal Khāk Safēd.—Jelléz.—Villages and castles.—Scuffle at Hazára castle.—Tirkhâna.—Honai.—Message from Shâh Abbás Khân.—Joined by him.—Hazára party.—Chokídárs.—Kirghú.—Our reception.—Violence of Afghân horsemen.—Hospitality of Hazáras.—Koh Bárá.—River Helmand.—Appearance of Koh Bárá.—Ghowch Khol.—Ab Diláwar.—Kotal Sang Súrâkh.—Bád Assiâh.—Zíárat.—Altercation with Hazáras.—Conduct of Shâh Abbás Khân.—Disputes amongst Hazáras.—Results.—Distress of Hazáras.—Their hospitable offices rejected.—Stratagem.—Hazára repast and Afghân delicacy.—Departure.—Eye medicine.—Doubtful roads.—Joined by Shâh Abbás Khân.—Vakíl Shaffi's castle.—Immenae grave.—Fear of women.—Arrival in camp.—Meeting with Hâjī Khân.—Quarters.—Companions.—Evening repast.—Fare.—Hâjī Khân's conversation.—His humble pretensions.—His vaunts of liberality.—His avowal of his intentions.—His counsels to Dost Máhommed Khân.—Approbation of his auditors.—Diwál Khol.—Mír Ali Khân.—Composition of Hâjī Khân's force.—Hazára force.—Dependents on Hâjī Khân.—Camp arrangements.—Notice to march.—Order of march.—Taking up ground.—Foragers.—Evening invocation.—Prayers.—Majlis.—Guests.—Entertainment.—Termination of the majlis.

BEING joined by Sirkender Kambar and his servant, our party of four persons left the Bálla Hissár by the Derwâza Nagára Khâna, and by the road of Chándol passed the defile, called by Baber,

Deveren—an appellation now forgotten—into the plain of Chahárdéh, at this season beautifully sprinkled with fields of maswák, or safflower, the plant being charged with its fine orange-coloured blossoms. We passed Killa Kází, and by night reached Arghandí, where we took up quarters at a masjít contiguous to one of the castles, intending there to have passed the night, when the inhabitants of the castle entreated us to lodge within their walls, asserting, they had enemies, who might assassinate us in the night, for the purpose of throwing the opprobrium and consequences of the crime upon them. As this mode of effecting the disgrace and ruin of enemies is common among Afghâns, we complied, and entered the castle.

In our road from Arghandí we met a numerous cavalcade of men, children, camels, horses, asses, bullocks, and flocks of sheep, which proved to be the Afghân pastoral tribe of Hássan Khél, with their property, in progress from their summer residences in the Hazárajât to the more genial districts of Lúghmân. About a mile from Arghandí we followed a ravine, which led to the base of the pass called Kotal Khâk Saféd (white earth). The pass was neither long nor difficult, and brought us on an extensive table-space, in which we found an abandoned watch-tower, and springs of water in two or three spots. The descent from this table-space was gradual, and brought us into the beautiful valley of Zémaní, Jelléz, and Sir Chishma,

speckled with castles, villages, and gardens, through which flowed a fine stream of water, rising at Sir Chishma. The road we followed traced the eastern side of the valley, and successively passing the zîá-rat of Khwoja Isâ, distinguished by a grove of trees, and the villages Zébudâk and Zémaní, left of the stream, we arrived at a splendid grove of chanar, or plane-trees, with the village of Jelléz immediately to the right of the road. Jelléz has an ancient appearance; may contain some eighty houses, and has two or three Hindú dokándárs, or shopkeepers. It is said to be twelve jeríbí cosses from Kâbal, or twenty-seven and a half miles. From Jelléz the valley has the name of Tirkhâna; at a castle in which, inhabited by Hazâras, we took up quarters for the night. This march was a very agreeable one, from the generally romantic and fine scenery. The villages and castles, usually constructed of stones, had invariably their stock of winter provender piled upon the flat roofs of their houses; the various substances, such as grass, clover, &c., being arranged in distinct layers, recognizable by their various hues of brown, pale, or dark green. Among them were interposed layers of a vivid red colour, which were found, on inquiry, to be composed of the dried leaves of the rhubarb plant, collected by the peasants from the neighbouring hills, and made to contribute to the sustenance of their cattle during winter. The operative cultivators of the soil were invariably Hazâras.



The villages are inhabited by mixed Afghâns and Tâjiks. The district of Zébudâk is entirely occupied by the Afghân tribe of Rústam Khél. Wheat, grown throughout the valley, is proverbially esteemed, and the lands, watered by the river, yield large quantities of shâli, or rice. At this castle, in the evening, a terrible hubbub ensued, which we found occasioned by my man Yúsef, who was a chillam-kash, or tobacco smoker; he needed the chillam, or apparatus for smoking, and maltreated the Hazáras for not producing what they had not to produce. The Hazáras made common cause, and the Sirkerder and myself had not only difficulty to appease the tumult, but were ourselves very nearly ejected forcibly from the castle. The uncompromising chillam-kash, however, triumphed, for a chillam was brought for him from a neighbouring castle.

In the morning, crossing the stream, we traced the western portion of the valley of Tírkhâna, which contains several castles and small hamlets. These have always, as indeed is general throughout Afghânistân, neat masjīts without them, serving at once as places for devotion and for the accommodation of the stranger: numerous water mills were seated on the stream. Where Tírkhâna terminates the stream flows through a narrow defile, or tanghí, and the spot is romantic; on the rocks to the right is perched an ancient tower. The defile passed, we enter the valley called Sir Chishma,

which in its expanse comprises many castles and hamlets. A spring at the north of the vale is considered the source of the river, whence the name applied to the district. In it Hâjî Khân holds some lands, and a castle, called Júi Foládí.

At the head of the valley, where is seated a village on an eminence, we inclined to the west, having on our right a rivulet flowing in a deep ravine, and on our left high undulating grounds, among which were interspersed a few castles and some cultivation. The last of these castles, with two contiguous ones, is the property of Ismael Khân, Merví, mírokâr, or master of horse to Dost Máhoméd Khân. About half a mile hence the valley winds to the north, and leads into Honai, at the commencement of which is the handsome castle of Mastapha Khân, son of Yúsef Khân Jú-ânshír. A fine rivulet flows down Honai; ascending which, we reach two or three castles with contiguous hamlets, the latter being now called kishláks, belonging to Zúlfakár Khân, a considerable land proprietor, also a merchant, trafficking with Déh Zanghí. At this point the stream turns a water-mill. Proceeding up the valley, which widens, the remains of walls and parapets are observed on the adjacent eminences. These might be supposed to represent old castles, but now that we are better acquainted with such ruins, we conjecture them to denote the burial-places of the old inhabitants of the country. Clearing this extended

space, the valley again contracts until we reach the base of the pass, or Kotal of Honai. A little while after leaving Sir Chishma I was overtaken by an Afghân horseman, who informed me that he was sent by Shâh Abbâs Khân, mîrâkor to Hâjî Khân, to acquaint me that he was behind, with three camels laden with provisions and articles of clothing, which he was escorting to the camp, and he hoped that I would halt for him, that we might join the khân together, who would be pleased with him for having paid me attention. I knew nothing of the mîrâkor, but on reaching a small patch of chaman, or pasture, the sirkerder and myself agreed to wait for him, and allowing our horses to graze, we threw ourselves on the ground until he reached us. He did so in due time, when we mounted and pushed on, leaving the camels to follow at their leisure. On reaching the base of the kotal we found a party of Hazâras, endeavouring to procure karij, or duty, from a small ass-kâfila, carrying fruit and coarse calicoes to the camp. The men of the kâfila disputed payment on the plea of being camp-followers and privileged persons; and the Hazâras were about to employ force to obtain what they asserted to be their due. Their party consisted of two very personable youths mounted, who called themselves saiyads, and five or six matchlock-men on foot. The youths observed, that on our account, they would not now use compulsion, but that their claims were just. They were satisfied



with a few bunches of grapes; and Shâh Abbâs cautioned them not to interfere with the khân's camels in the rear. Commencing the ascent of the kotal, we fell in with Mîr Alî Khân, Hazâra, and nâzir, or steward to Mîr Yezdânbaksh, proceeding on business to Kâbal. We gave him a few bunches of grapes procured from the kâfila, and he gave us a nishân or token, by employing which we might secure a courteous reception at a castle in Kirghû, where he recommended us to pass the night. The kotal was not difficult, but consisted of alternate ascents and descents; and in the hollows were always small rivulets, fringed with margins of chaman. On the crest of the kotal, where is a large table expanse, were the ruined walls of a small square enclosure, under which were sitting two or three Hazâra chokîdârs, or collectors of duty. They claimed duty from the ass-kâfila, and on being refused, threatened to chapow (plunder) it, but were satisfied with a few bunches of grapes and a small quantity of tobacco. We remained here until the camels joined. The road divides into two branches, one to the right, the high road to Bâmiân by Yûrt and Kârzâr, the other leading to the front, which we followed. We had now entered upon a country indeed dreary and bleak, but abounding with rivulets, and in which every spot on its irregular surface at all capable was appropriated to cultivation; castles were occasionally seen in nooks or sheltered recesses of the hills, at a distance from



the road. We soon reached Kirghú, where we found three castles belonging to Mír Yezdânbaksh and his brother, Mír Máhoméd Shâh. We had intended to have halted at the farthest in situation of the three castles; but the people asserted their inability to provide us and our cattle with supplies. Notwithstanding the outrageous behaviour of Shâh Abbâs, they were firm in refusing us accommodation, but advised us to proceed to a castle behind, seated on a rise, belonging to Mír Máhoméd Shâh, where, although the mír was at Kâbal, the mír-zádâs his sons were present, and we should find every thing we needed. We accordingly went there, and the young mírs accepted the nishân of the nâzir, and were polite enough to say, that without it they would have entertained our party on my account. A carpet was immediately spread without the castle, and a chillam produced. Here we found four Afghân horsemen, who asserted they had a barât, or written order, for their entertainment that night, but refusing to show it, were denied reception. Much foul language was uttered by the Afghâns, and it growing nearly dark, two, the most violent, drew their swords, vowing they would obtain by force what was refused to civility. The Hazâras took up stones, begging us to remain quietly in our seats, as we had nothing to do with the affair. Matters did not proceed to extremities. The Afghâns, finding their menaces ineffectual, were content to mount their horses, and seek lodging

elsewhere, lavishing terms of abuse, and reviling Mír Yezdânbaksh as a sag, or dog. A large flock of sheep now appeared in sight, which proved to be in charge of these men; on which the young mírs called for their jisâls, or guns, and with four or five armed attendants, hastened to protect their standing crops of wheat from being devoured. In the course of this day's march we had met many large flocks of sheep, on their road to Kâbal, being portions of the tribute of Bísút, made over to awâleh-dárs, or persons holding awâlehs, or orders, from Dost Máhoméd Khân. To ourselves every attention was paid, and a sheep was set before us as peshikash (a present), which we would fain have declined, but it was pressed upon us, and a huge vessel of a composite metal, called chodân, was provided, in which to cook it, with abundance of chelmer for fuel. Cakes were prepared, of a mixture of mûshúng, or pea and barley-flour. I was undoubtedly an object of curiosity, and even the female infants, beautiful in features, were brought to see what they had never seen before, a Feringhí; but the modesty of the mírzâdas prevented them from asking me a single question. The night here was very cold, and in the morning the rivulet was slightly iced over. Kirghú is south of Kârzár.

Bade adieu to our hospitable friends at Kirghú; and crossing a rivulet, made a slight ascent, which brought us to the commencement of a fine level dasht, or plain, of large extent. At this point were

a few castles; and we had a magnificent view of Koh Bábá to the north-west. The road was excellent. At some distance to our right we had the river Helmand, flowing in a deep valley, and between the river and the skirts of Koh Bábá was the district Ferai Kholm, abounding in castles and cultivated land, but without a tree. On either side of the road we were following were also many castles, and the soil was generally under cultivation—several vast heaps of stones occurred on the road side, and occasionally graves and burial-places. We halted awhile at a castle on this plain, that the camels might appear. I asked the old men, if Koh Bábá was accessible, and was told that the summit might be reached in one day by persons who were “níat sáf,” or pure in heart, but those who were not might ramble many days, or even be unable to gain it. This mountain is remarkable for its abrupt, needle-shaped pinnacles, and stands a singular spectacle, from its contrast with the surrounding hills. Having traversed the plain, we had low hills to our left, while to our right was the Helmand, flowing beneath us through a space of chaman; its banks fringed with rose-bushes and osiers. In so inviting a spot, we descended from the road, and refreshed ourselves awhile. Although the cold was so severe by night the sun was powerful by day, so much so that while halting here I was glad to sit in the shade of contiguous rocks. Hence a short distance brought us to Ghowch Khol,



(the deep glen). Here were two castles on the opposite bank of the Helmand, over which a rustic bridge was thrown; the castles were also seated on the opposite sides of a ravine, down which from the north a considerable rivulet flowed, and here joined the Helmand. This river also receives at Ghowch Khol the waters of another rivulet, Ab Diláwer (the high spirited water), so called from its never being ice-bound. Ab Diláwer flows from the south-west. Our road probably led straight on along the banks of the Helmand, but, for the convenience of our camels, we followed the valley, down which flowed Ab Diláwer. It was of considerable length, and although without dwellings, there was much cultivated land in it. The rivulet rises at its upper extremity, and from its source a portion of its water is diverted into a channel, or rural aqueduct, carried along the hills to the left, throughout the whole extent of the valley. The aqueduct is supported by a parapet of stones, sufficiently regular in construction to produce a pleasing and picturesque appearance. At the head of the valley is a kotal, or pass, the descent of which is considerable. Here a large rock, with a cavity therein, occurs, called Sang Súrâkhí (the perforated rock), from which, we believe, this pass is called Kotal Sang Súrâkhí. At the base of this pass we found, as usual, a rivulet, and on the right a castle, where we halted until the camels came up. Hence passing over a succession of irre-



gular, but low ascents and descents, we reached a castle, at the opening of the extensive plain Bâd Assiâh, where we resolved to pass the night. Above us to the right, at a trifling distance, was another castle, and to the left on the opposite side of the valley was a small kishlâk; beyond which, in a sheltered recess of the hills, was a cheerful grove of trees, now rare objects, denoting a zîârat of Hâzrat Ali, or, as called, Hâzrat Shâh Mirdân. The Hazâras of the castle at which we had halted were unwilling to furnish us with supplies, alleging that the sûrsât they had contributed to the army had exhausted their means. Shâh Abbâs would not admit excuses, and was liberal in the discipline of the whip, and but that I deprecated in strong terms, violence, I presume a curious scene of insolence on the one side, and resistance on the other would have followed. I wished to have proceeded to a castle a little lower down in the plain, where, I learned, Mîr Ali Khân Kûrd was fixed, with thirty horsemen, but the Sirkender did not appear consenting. I, however, insisted that nothing on my account should be taken from the Hazâras forcibly, or even gratuitously, and flour was given to them, which they cheerfully engaged to prepare into bread. These people had now consented to furnish chaff and barley for the cattle, but wished to divide the charge of our entertainment with their neighbours in the castle and kishlâk. These refused, those of the castle telling them to take

charge of their own guests; adding, that if the whole party had originally taken up quarters with them they would willingly have provided everything needful. Contention now arose among the Hazáras themselves; stones were taken up; and Shâh Abbás and his companions were obliged to draw swords to terminate the strife. Night was now drawing on, and neither chaff nor barley was forthcoming. Shâh Abbás told me that the quarrel among the Hazáras had been a feint, to shuffle giving anything, and that I had spoiled all his arrangements by forbidding violence; that with Hazáras it was necessary to employ kicks and cuffs. Chaff was at last brought; but information given that the Rîsh Saféd (white bearded old man), who had undertaken to provide barley, had ran away and secreted himself in the upper castle. On this, Shâh Abbás lost patience, and sent his companions, armed, to secure him. They went, and after some scuffling, in which a few stones were thrown by the Hazáras, they succeeded in bringing away the old gentleman, and another fellow, who had been prominent in opposing them. Shâh Abbás ordered them to be bound, and would have flogged both. I was enabled to save the old man from disgrace, but was compelled to abandon the younger one to his fate. The Hazáras now betook themselves to supplication; the old and young women of the castle assailed the Afghâns with cries of sorrow, and entreaties to unbind the men. Barley was pro-

duced, and their prayers were granted. A sheep was also offered, as peshkash, which Shâh Abbâs disdainfully rejected, threatening the people of the castle with all the vengeance of Hâjî Khân and Mîr Yezdânbaksh, for their inhospitality. The bread, prepared with our own flour, was now brought, and with cheese, also our own property, we made our supper.

Shâh Abbâs and his companions had some Kâbal-baked cakes on which they regaled. The Hazâras however prepared for the party cakes of pea and barley-flour, and brought them, with large bowls of boiled milk. Their hospitable offices were indignantly refused by Shâh Abbâs, nor could all their entreaties, their expressions of contrition, and their kissing of hands and feet, induce him to partake of the provided fare. It was ridiculous enough to behold five hungry Afghâns refusing to satisfy their appetites; but the fact was, they were now employing stratagem. A sheep had been exhibited, and although in the first instance scornfully rejected, it was not intended that it should escape slaughter. On this account, therefore, they persisted in not accepting the cakes and milk, and laid themselves down to sleep, execrating the Hazâras as inhospitable infidels.

By times in the morning we made signals of motion, when the Hazâras of the castle besought us to partake of an entertainment first. The stratagem of the Afghâns had succeeded; an entire



sheep had been roasted during the night. Afghân delicacy was again amusing; it was not until they had wearied the Hazáras, in supplication, weeping and kissing their feet, that they consented, as a matter of especial favour, to sit down to a magnificent breakfast of a fine hot roasted sheep, bowls of moss, or curds, and warm bread-cakes. I partook of the banquet; but on its conclusion inquired for the master of the sheep that had been slain, and presented him with its value in money, which he gratefully accepted; after which, my nag being saddled, I mounted and departed, receiving the benedictions of the people of the castle. Sirkerder Kamber remained until Shâh Abbás started, as the latter wished, and would otherwise have taken the money from the Hazáras. We crossed the northern extremity of the plain Bâd Assiáh, the soil of irregular surface, bleak and uncultivated, the castles with the appropriated soil lying at some distance to our left. On leaving the dusht we reached a spot of chaman, where, with Shâh Abbás, who had previously joined, we halted until the camels appeared. Shâh Abbás commenced digging up the roots of a small bulbous plant, which, he said, yielded arún túta. This is a medicine of high price, and of high repute for diseases of the eye. Its qualities are decidedly stimulant, and as it is indiscriminately applied, its use must be in many cases improper. I afterwards found this medicine was one of the articles particularly inquired for by



the people of the camp in the Hazárajât. It is sold in small pieces, of a dark brown colour, and would appear to be the inspissated juice of some bulbous plant, if Shâh Abbas was right, of some species of *colchicum* possibly. From this spot Shâh Abbâs and his companion took the lead of us; and when we followed, we came to a point where the road divided into two branches, both passing over ascents; the road to our right was evidently the principal one, but it was as evident that Shâh Abbâs had taken the other, the impression of his horses' hoofs being visible; we therefore followed it, although convinced we were in error, and were fearful that our servants and camels might be bewildered. We passed a slight ascent, which brought us into a narrow valley of some length, with a fine rivulet, which, at the mouth of the valley, or just before it opens into another and larger, disappears suddenly. In the larger valley was a still more considerable rivulet, with a variety of springs, excellent chaman, and patches of cultivated soil. Shâh Abbâs was not to be found, and we rested here, determined to await the arrival of our servants. These at length arrived. We were in a dilemma, being conscious that we had lost the right road, and there was no castle in sight where we might obtain information. A flock of sheep came down the valley, but the shepherd as soon as he saw us, abandoned his charge and fled over the hills. The Sirkerder mounted and pursued him,

and although he did not overtake the fugitive, he ascertained on gaining the heights that a castle, with a few trees, was at some distance. Shâh Abbâs and his companion had now joined us. They had proceeded far down the valley, but finding no person or habitation, had wandered in doubt. Shâh Abbâs started for the castle discovered by the Sirkerder; on his return, from the information obtained, our party moved down the valley awhile, and then ascending the heights to our left, crossed over an undulating country, and gained a spacious valley, in which were several castles, much cultivated land, and fine plots of chaman, with a fair rivulet flowing through it. Three or four brood mares, and two or three foals were grazing, indications of the prosperity of the inhabitants, and we found that the castles belonged to the Vakîl Shaffî and his úlús. We were now directed into a well-defined road, which led us into an extensive plain, bounded to the right by low hills of a white porcelain clay, of which the few castles dispersed over the surface were constructed, giving them a peculiar appearance. Two or three of these were in ruins, having been destroyed the preceding year by Amír Máhomed Khân. Traversing this plain, we passed through a burial-ground, where on the right of the road was an immense grave from twenty to twenty-five yards in length. This, of course, was a zîarat, and, like everything wonderful among the Házaras, was ascribed to Házrat Shâh Mirdân. Shâh Abbâs and

his companion had again preceded us, and we came up with them lying before a castle, in which were only women, who through fear had fastened the entrance. We found that the Afghâns had endeavoured to break open the door with stones, under pretence of procuring a chillam and fire. Sirkerder Kamber succeeded by fair language in inducing the women, who stood on the ramparts of one of the towers, to lower down the indispensable chillam and fire. These women, on our inquiries as to the situation of the camp, in their anxiety to get rid of us, or through ignorance, directed us wrongly, and we went on until, passing many successive and considerable elevations, we made a valley with two or three castles, whence, being made sensible of our error, we turned to our right, and at no great distance descried from the heights the Afghân camp on the banks of the Helmand, which we joined, it being still day.

My arrival was notified to the khân, who immediately sent for me and the Sirkerder. He was profuse in expressions of satisfaction at seeing me, and said that when at Kâbal, from the pressure of his affairs, he was prevented from showing me the attentions he wished; now we should be constant companions. He added, if I wished to proceed directly to Bâmiân he would provide attendants, but he had rather I should postpone the visit for a few days, until the affairs of Bîsût were arranged, when we should all go together. To this I assented.



After being regaled with grapes and melons, now articles of luxury to us, we took leave. A quarter of a large tent, appropriated to the Sandúk Khána establishment, was assigned for my quarters, and Sirkerder Kamber, who shared it with me, was directed to attend to me in particular, as were generally all the péshkidmats, or servants of the household. A second quarter of this tent was occupied by Akhúnd Iddaitúlah and his son, the first tabíb, or physician to the khân, a venerable Rîsh Saféd, or white-bearded old gentleman; the son, a stuttering youth, attár báshí, or apothecary. They had two or three enormous boxes, containing a various collection of sanative drugs and simples. The other half of the tent was occupied by the two sandúkdárs, persons in charge of the chests, two khaiyáts, or tailors, and Saiyad Abdúlah and his son, who called themselves the khân's pírkhânas, or spiritual guides. The old saiyad was an ignorant and intolerant bigot, who agreed badly with Sirkerder Kamber, who was not perhaps altogether orthodox in his opinions, and had no particular reverence for saiyads in general, and none for Saiyad Abdúlah. The latter, therefore, was wont to fulminate his curses and to revile the Sirkerder as a káfr, or infidel, who in return charged the holy man with imposture. The young saiyad was a meek inoffensive youth.

In the evening a péshkidmat announced that the khân invited me to sup with him in the tent of



Máhoméd Bâgher Khân, where he was himself a guest. Thither I repaired, and was placed by the khân by his side, which on all occasions after was my seat. Here I found most of the Ghúlám Khâna chiefs assembled. Our entertainment was composed of pillau and kórmeh, or stewed meat, with sherbet, or sugar and water. After the repast the khân observed to me, that all the persons present were sons of noblemen; the father of him pointing to Mír Alí Khân Kúrd, spent crores of rupees under the Sadú Zaí monarchs. "At that time tribute was received from Káshmir, Déráhi Múltân, and Sind; now we are all compelled to scour the Hazára hills in search of sheep and goats." Máhoméd Bâgher Khân remarked, it was a subject of congratulation, that amid the various vicissitudes that had passed, his (the khân's) gúzerân (circumstances) were prosperous. The khân exclaimed Shúkr! (thanks!) and added, that he had a sirdár who possessed insáf (equity). He next panegyricized the Hazáras, professing to be delighted with their frank, unsuspecting manners, and love of truth; affirming, that he himself was both a hâjí and hâjíz (unassuming), who had come into Bísút solely for the kidmut (service) of those good people, who had been maltreated by Amír Máhoméd Khân. He expatiated on the large sums he had expended in khelats since his entrance into the country, observing, that his liberality had already excited umbrage at Kábal, where

his enemies were numerous ; and he had understood that the sirdár should have said, "The Hazáras, incapable of appreciating generous treatment, would the following year refuse the payment of tribute altogether." He complained that the sirdár had not forwarded him, as promised, supplies of flour from Ghazní ; and that, instead of sending one thousand five hundred troops of the Ghúlám Khâna, had only despatched a few above two hundred. He affirmed, that he had written to the sirdár, that any disgrace generated by failure in the present expedition would attach mainly to himself,—that he was aware many persons in Kâbal would exult and chuckle if Hâjî suffered defeat. He then asserted his intention of reducing Séghân and Kâhmerd, and vowed, that until he had effected those objects the water of Kâbal was gosht-khúk (swine-flesh) to him, and, if necessitated to pass the winter at Bámíân, he would do so at the risk of being reputed yâghí, or rebellious. He dwelt on his many efforts to prevail upon Dost Máhoméd Khân to aggrandize himself at the expense of his brothers at Kândahár and Pesháwer, remarking, that any one who had read the histories of Jenghiz Khân, Taimúr Lang, Nádir Shâh, or any other great man who had become Pádshâh, would see the necessity of disregarding family ties ; that it was by the slaughter of kinsmen they had reached the summit of power ; and he who would be, like them, fortunate

must be, like them, cruel. He said, that the preceding year at Jelálabád he had exhorted Dost Máhoméd Khân to advance upon Bájor and the Yuséf Zaí country, or upon the Dérájât and Banú. He, moreover, entered into an explanation of his motives in the negotiations between the Shías and Súnís, which followed the affray in the month of Mohoram, avowing unbounded liberality in religious sentiments, and insisting on the sacred duty of a chief to dispense justice equally to all classes of subjects, whether Shías, Súnís, or even Guebres and Hindús. In this and similar conversation the Khân, who engrossed all talking, spent the evening; his auditors, indeed, every now and then exclaiming, by way of admiration and approval, "Insábí insábí!" or Just, very just! until, it growing late, he rose, and the company broke up. He accompanied me to my tent, just behind his own; and, although I did not need it, sent me bed-clothing and furniture from his háram.

This day a moderate march of four or five miles, passing two or three bolendís, or rising grounds, brought us to a valley called Díwâl Khol, or the wall-glen, a name I could not discover for what reason conferred. In the course of the march I was passed by Mír Alí Khân Kúrd, who remarked to his party, that the preceding evening the Khân intended to have given me a postín, which I missed by telling him I was already provided with one. This was the man whose father,



the khân told me, had spent crores of rupees in his time, and who himself was possessed of much property, and at the head of thirty horse. Still, to him it appeared wonderful why I had told the truth, when by a falsehood I might have gained a postín. The khân, alluding to the cold of Bísút, asked me in Máhoméd Bâgher Khân's tent, whether I was provided with a postín, no doubt intending to have given me one had I replied in the negative. I told him the truth, and the matter dropped. In this encampment we had the Helmand some distance to the north, and from it the plain ascended to the skirts of Koh Báábá, and was studded with castles. In the evening supped with the khân in the tent of his brother, Dost Máhoméd Khân.

It may not be irrelevant to note here the forces accompanying the khân, as well as other particulars relative to the affairs of the camp. The khân's own troops at this time with him, were about four hundred Kháká cavalry; the chiefs, Réhimdád Khân, the former governor of Bámián, Náib Sadúddín, Ghúlám Akhúndzáda, Pír Máhoméd Khân, Abdúl Rasúl Khân, Mírza Uzúr, the khân's secretary, and the khân's brother, Dost Máhoméd Khân. He had also, of his own retainers, about one hundred soldiers, thirty of whom were Hindústánís, who furnished his personal guard. The Ghúlám Khâna troops were two hundred and twenty in number; their chiefs, Máhoméd Bâgher Khân and Máhoméd Jáffer Khân, Morád Khânís, Mír Ali Khân Kúrd,



Hússén Khân, Chaous Báshí, and Ghúlám Réza Khán Rika, Abdúl Azzíz Khán Kálmúk, and Saiyad Máhoméd Khán Paghmaní. Besides these were the following troops furnished by Dost Máhoméd Khán: Shakúr Khán, Terín, with fifty horse-jísálchís, and Juma Khán, Yusef Zai, with twenty foot-jísálchís,—the latter a guard for the guns, of which there were two, one of heavy and one of light calibre, with some twenty or twenty-five gunners. Attached to the guns was an elephant. The whole forming a total of something above eight hundred fighting men. The khân, moreover, had about thirty servants, who officiated as shâhghâssís, názirs, péshikidmats, chillam-berdárs, sandúkdárs, &c., most of whom were really effective as soldiers, being all armed and mounted, and many of them were constantly employed on diplomatic and military business. He was also attended by six or seven youths, his nephews, called khânzâdas; each of these had two or three or four attendants, so that the number of effective troops may be calculated at nine hundred; a small number, compared with the force which always accompanied Amír Máhoméd Khán.

The Hazára force consisted of about two thousand cavalry, under the orders of the Mírs Yezdânbaksh and Báz Alí, and other chieftains of less note.

Dependent on the khân were five or six Hindú múnshís, or secretaries, and two or three Shikárpúris; these formed his commissariat department.

Attending the camp was a bazar, which was tolerably supplied. I have before noted, that the khân's establishment comprised a physician, apothecary, saiyads, tailors, &c.; it had also sâzindâhs, or musicians; and accompanying him as friends, or hangers-on, were many other persons, a saiyad from Mastûng, in Balochistân, some Hâjís of Hindústân, Din Máhoméd, a Júânshír merchant, who came, hoping to recover some property plundered by the Dêh Zanghí Hazáras the preceding year on his route from Herát to Kábal. His nephews were under the direction of Múlla Shahábadín, who boasted descent from Shékh Jám, and himself officiated as kâzí, múftí, &c. as occasion required.

Previously to marching the khân communicated his orders to an old toothless jísârchí, who acted as herald, and moved about the camp, shouting, as well as his disabled organs of speech would allow, "Khaimeh pâhín kon," or strike tents. Upon this notice, horses were saddled, and the grooms loading their yábús (ponies) with their stable stores, were the first to move; they were followed by the camels, more heavily laden; and when the ground was cleared of these, parties of horse, at discretion, marched. The khân was generally the last to mount, bringing up the rear with a more or less considerable party. His march was announced by the beating of nagáras, which was repeated on his approach to any inhabited spot, as well as on his nearing the new encampment. It

was usual to send in advance during the night the *pêshkhâna*, or a tent with servants, attached to the *hâram serâi*, and *kârkhâna*, or kitchen establishment, that his wives on arrival at the ground might be forthwith accommodated, and that the food for the evening's meal might be in a state of preparation. His wives rode on the march in *kajâwas*, carried by horses, and, attended by a slight escort, moved with the heavy equipage. On reaching the fixed halting-place the *khân's* grooms, under the direction of *Nâib Gûl Mâhomed*, *Hazâra*, superintendent of the stables, described by long lines of rope an oblong square, to which the *khân's* horses as they arrived were picketed. Within the area of this square were put up the tents of the *khân* and his establishment, while other individuals without it selected spots at pleasure. The *Ghûlâm Khâna* troops always encamped distinctly and together, as did the *Hazâras*. As soon as the *yâbûs* of the grooms were relieved of their loads they were again mounted by their masters, who, in charge of *Nâib Gûl Mâhomed*, rode to the *Hazâra* castles that might be near, and laid hands on all the chaff and chelmer they met with, for the use of the forces. These men were the foraging party of the army. The camp being arranged, every one was occupied by his own immediate affairs until *nimâz shâm* (evening prayers), which concluded, general shouts of "*Damm bhâwal hâk*," thrice repeated, resounded throughout the *Afghân* portion of it, imploring



the protection of the holy Bhâwal, the Pîr, who is most revered by the khân, and whose zîarat is in the citadel of Múltân.

At the conclusion of nimáz shâm, which the khân usually repeated in the tent of his nephews and Shékh, or Múlla Shahábadín, he was wont to read a portion of the Korân, that, as he expressed it, "khazâneh shúwad," or, that wealth might follow; after which he repaired to the tent, where he received his evening majlis, or party.

The majlis consisted of three descriptions of persons; firstly, those whom the khân invited; secondly, such of his dependents who were privileged to attend, and lastly, of such Afghâns and Hazáras who voluntarily came. The khân sat, of course, at the head of the tent, and his most honoured guests immediately on his right and left hand. Two or three shâhghâssís (masters of ceremonies) were in attendance, with their wands of office, to announce arrivals, and to conduct visitors to the seats due to their rank. The company seated, at intervals the khân called for the káliún, which would be passed to others of the party who were smokers. In due time supper would be ordered, which was invariably composed of the same fare. A few covered dishes of pillau, or boiled rice and meat, with two or three búshkâbs, or plates of kormeh, or stewed meat for the khân and those adjacent to him, and bowls or basins of âb-gosht, or meat and broth, for the multitude at the lower end of the tent, and



less entitled to distinction. The repast was followed by conversation, in which the khân seldom left room for others to mingle. Occasionally individuals rose and took their leave, by making an obeisance and exclaiming "Salâm Alíkam!" but the majlis was only finally dissolved by the rising of the khân himself.

## CHAPTER XIV.

March to Shaitána. — Halt and negotiations. — Hazára custom. — Evening majlis. — Fatiha. — Hindústán Háji. — His loquacity. — Darmirdighán. — Sang Nishánde. — The Khán's guns. — Treatment of Hazáras. — Their consolation. — Vakíl Shaffí. — The Khán's delight. — Hazára Saiyad. — His learning. — Azdhá. — A natural curiosity. — Hazára belief. — Composition of rock. — Tepid springs. — Volcanic products. — Azdhá of Bámián. — Zíarat. — Rock impressions. — Sources of Loghar river. — Subterranean passage. — Revelations by the Khán. — Missions from Máhoméd Ali Beg and from Shīrbhán. — Transactions at Séghán. — Mir Wais's introduction. — Guests. — The Khán's declamation. — Mir Wais's replies. — The Khán's elevated style. — Humility of Mir Wais. — The Khán's interrogation. — Reply of Mir Wais. — The Khán boasts his liberality. — Mir Wais implores his protection. — Fatiha. — Mission from Khairpúr. — Múlla Jehán Máhoméd. — The Khán's vaunts. — Sindian presents. — Death of Khán's brother. — Fall of snow. — Hazára prognostications. — Zíarat. — Táatar Wali. — Ghírú Mainí. — Depredations of the troops. — Indisposition of the Khán. — Tribute from Jirgai and Búrjehgai. — Khelats. — Expedients. — Site of Ghírú Mainí. — Retrograde march. — Quagmire. — Wújai. — Bád Assíáh. — Ghowch Khol. — Cold and ice. — Forethought of Mir Yezdánbaksh. — Results of campaign. — Increase of revenue. — Confidence inspired. — Advantages of expedition. — Benefits to the chief. — Peshkash presents. — Gain to the Khán. — Service rendered. — Pleasing anticipations. — View of the Khán's projects. — Mir Yezdánbaksh. — His customs and dress. — Singular appearance. — March towards Bámián. — Kotal Siáh Régh. — Splendid view. — Mir Yezdánbaksh visits Kárzár. — Kálú. — Inclement season. — Mir Zaffar. — Kotal Haft Pailán. — Magnificent prospect. — Topchí. — Ahíngar. — Caves. — Ghúlghúleh. — Entry of Khán into Bámián. — Premature winter. — Arrivals from Séghán. — Máhoméd Hassan. — Múlla Shahábadín's treaty. — Dismissal of Séghánchís.

FROM DÍWÁL Khol we marched four or five miles to Shaitâna, over a similar black, undulating surface, and halted in a barren spot, with castles adjacent. The place had a portentous name, as shaitân signifies the devil.

We halted here, owing to the necessity of negotiation with the chiefs of some districts in advance, who had been hitherto accustomed, when asked to pay tribute by the Afghâns, to offer, according to an old Hazára custom, "*sang ya búz*," or a stone or a goat; that is, they held a goat in one hand and a stone in the other, saying, if the Afghâns are willing to accept the goat in place of a sheep we will give tribute, if unwilling, they shall have stones, or that they would resist. Amír Máhoméd Khân had been obliged to accede to their conditions, from the advanced state of the season when he approached these parts; but now the khân insisted on receiving full tribute, which, owing to his personal reputation, his avowed determination to exterminate Máhoméd Alí Beg of Séghân, and, above all, the powerful influence of Mír Yezdânbaksh, was delivered to him. As usual, I passed my evenings with the khân, in the majlis tent. There were generally some of the Hazára chiefs present, as well as many of the Hazára and Tájik proprietors of Bá-miân, and its districts. The conversation naturally turned on the affairs of Máhoméd Alí Beg of Séghân, and it always happened that twice or thrice in the course thereof the khân would raise his hands,

in which he would be followed by the company, and repeat *Fatíha*, swearing to exterminate the *Ség-hân* chief, which he finished by stroking down his beard, and exclaiming "*Allah Akber*," or By the order of God. He particularly inquired, if *Máho-med Alí Beg* had any wealth; but all answered, nothing but a few horses and their equipments. Among the constant visitors at the *majlis*, was a pert *hâjí*, of *Hindústân*. This man had visited Persia and Asia Minor, and, being particularly loquacious, would sometimes, uninvited, enter into a narration of the events which had occurred in those countries during his sojourn in them, and detail the circumstances of the wars between Russia, and Turkey, and Persia. He informed the *khân* that Russia made war upon the *súltân* because he would not grant her sovereign a "*kúlá*" or hat, as he had bestowed on other *Feringhí* potentates, but that the *súltân*, having been worsted, had now been compelled to give his majesty, the autocrat of all the Russias, permission to wear a hat. Relative to the Persian war, he observed that *Abbás Mírza* throughout the contest connived at the defeat of his own forces, being favourable to the Russians, whom he loved, as was believed in Persia, better than his own father.

At *Shaitâna* we had the *Helmand* to the north, and beyond it were the districts from which the *khân* now received full tribute, in place of being satisfied with half, or *sang ya búz*. They were



called Darmirdíghân, or the land of heroes, literally, the land of men one of whom is equal to ten; it being usual with the Hazáras, if they wish to convey the impression that a man is valiant, to call him "darmird," or ten men, implying that he is equivalent to ten others of ordinary valour. The castles of Darmirdíghân were visible from Shaitâna, distant some seven or eight miles. The soil of a dark red hue.

From Shaitâna our march was a trifling one of between two and three miles, up the valley of Sang Nishânde, of which Shaitâna was a portion. There were seven or eight castles, with some cultivated lands and chaman, with the never-failing rivulet, in this valley. The Sang Nishânde, which gives the name to the locality, was a large black stone, perpendicularly inserted in a heap of small stones, and serves, or did serve, as a boundary mark. I omitted previously to notice, that the two guns attached to the force were dragged through Bísút by the Hazára peasants, who were collected by the officers of Mír Yezdânbaksh. About eighty of these poor fellows were provided for the smaller, and two hundred for the larger gun. In most of the marches the direct line of road was not practicable in certain spots for artillery, there always occurring tanghís, or narrow defiles, where wheeled carriages could not pass. To avoid these, the guns were dragged by circuitous routes along and over the brows of hills, and the operation was tedious

and toilsome. The Hazáras, who by compulsion were reduced to act the part of beasts of burthen, on arrival in camp were dismissed without receiving even a cake of bread, or the still less costly expression of thanks. It may be, they consoled themselves with the idea that the guns they were dragging would one day be employed in effecting the destruction of Máhomed Alí Beg. The elephant with the force, accompanied the large gun, and was serviceable in preventing it from running back in the passages of the hills, by the powerful resistance he opposed with his trunk.

At our evening's majlis at this halting place, we had among our Hazára visitors Vakíl Shaffí. He was a fine, straightforward, ingenuous young man, and introduced to the Khán a saiyyad, who might be serviceable to him, in his projects upon Búrjeh-gai and Déh Zanghí. The khán appeared to be much delighted, and spoke in highly flattering terms to the Vakíl Shaffí. He said, that from the first interview he had with him he was much prepossessed in his favour, and vowed that he would make such a man of him that "five men in the hills should stare again." With the saiyyad he was no less charmed, or feigned to be so. This descendant of the Prophet indulged in incessant citations from the Korán. The khán was lost in ecstasy and surprise that so accomplished and learned a personage should be found among the hills of the Hazáras. He promised to advance the saiyyad's temporal

interests, who in return vowed to render obedient to him all the sturdy and turbulent men of the hills. The presence of the saiyad gave occasion to many fátihas, in all of which the destruction of Máhoméd Alí Beg was sworn. When he took his leave with Vakíl Shaffí, the khán observed, that he had now found an "ajáib mirdem," (admirable man,) and that his mind was completely set at rest. There were Afgháns in the camp who had before seen the saiyad, and they affirmed that his influence had been useful to the chiefs of Kándahár in their transactions with the Hazáras in their vicinity.

From Sang Nishándeḥ we made a more considerable march of fourteen or fifteen miles. The route across a bleak, elevated, and irregular country, towards the conclusion a long, and, in spots, precipitous descent brought us into a fair valley, with a few castles to the right and left, and a remarkable spot called the Azdhá, or Dragon, beyond which we halted, on elevated ground, in the valley of Shesh Búrjeh, or the six towers, and contiguous to us were as many castles.

The Azdhá of Bísút is indeed a natural curiosity, which the creative imagination of the Hazáras supposes to be the petrified remains of a dragon, slain by their champion Házrat Alí. Nor are they singular in the belief, for all classes of Máhomédans in these countries coincide with them, and revere the object as an eminent proof of the intrepidity of the son-in-law of Máhoméd, and as a standing evidence of



the truth of their faith. It is, geologically speaking, of volcanic formation, and a long projected mass of rock about one hundred and seventy yards in length; the main body is in form the half of a cylinder, of a white honey-combed friable stone; on its summit is an inferior projection, through the centre of which is a fissure of about two feet in depth and five or six inches in breadth, from which exhales a strong sulphurous odour; and a portion of the rock having been set on fire, it proved to contain sulphur. This part of the rock is assumed to have been the mane of the monster. In the superior part of the projection, which is supposed to represent the head of the dragon, there are numerous small springs on the eastern face, which trickle down in small lucid currents, having a remarkable effect from rippling over a surface of variously coloured red, yellow, and white rock, and exhibiting a waxy appearance. The water of these springs is tepid, and of a mixed, saline, and sulphurous flavour. They are supposed to exude from the Azdhá's brains. On the back of what is called the head are a number of small cones, from the apices of which tepid springs bubble forth. These cones are of the same description of white friable porous stone, but singular from being as it were scaled over, and this character prevails over the greater portion of the Azdhá. On one side of the head large cavities have been made, the powdery white earth there found being carried away by visitors, extraordinary efficacy in various diseases



being imputed to it. The vivid red rock which is found about the head is imagined to be tinged with the blood of the dragon. Beneath the numerous springs on the eastern face occur large quantities of an acrid crystalline substance resembling sal-ammoniac, and I was told it occurs in some of the neighbouring hills in vast quantities; lead is also one of the products of the hills near this place. I afterwards found that an analogous mass of rock, but of much more imposing size, occurs in the vicinity of Bámíán, and is alike supposed to represent a petrified dragon.

Near the north-western extremity of the dragon of Bísút, on high ground, is a small building, a zíárat. Here are shown impressions on a mass of black rock, said to denote the spot where Házzrat Ali stood when with his arrows he destroyed the sleeping dragon, the impressions being those of the hoofs of his famed charger Daldal. At the entrance is also a stone, with some other impressions, and over the door is an inscription, on black stone, in Persian, informing us that the building was erected some one hundred and fifty years since. In various parts of Afghânistán are found impressions on rock, certainly resembling the cavity which would be formed by the hoof of an animal, rather than anything else. Most of such impressions have zíárats erected over them, but I have seen them in spots where they have not hitherto been so consecrated, and where they occur, beyond doubt, in the solid rock

of the hill. They may conceal some curious and important geological facts.

The valley in which we were now encamped is, moreover, remarkable for containing the sources of the river of Loghar, and these are also a curiosity of themselves. About a mile above the Azdhá the springs issue from a large verdant expanse of bog, not far from which the stream has a subterranean passage for about two hundred yards, when it reappears in a small lake or cavity of about eighty yards in circumference. Here it turns two water-mills, and again disappears for about five hundred yards, in which distance it passes under the Azdhá, and issues east of it. Hence its course is unimpeded, and it flows, a small but clear stream, through a verdant valley, and, traversing the Hazára districts, crosses at Shékhabád the valley leading from Kábal to Ghazní.

At this place the khân sent for me privately by night, and entering into a long account of his early history and adventures, his services to Dost Máhomed Khân, and the return he met with from him, disclosed to me his views and intentions, of which I had been for some time suspicious.

The khân explained, that he was favoured by visions, and had been instructed in them that he was to become a great man; that the country, whether Afghân or Uzbek, was "bí-sáhib," or without a master; and he proposed that he and I should benefit by such a state of things, and turn

ourselves into pádsháh and vazír. I forget which of us was to have been the pádsháh, but in proof of his sincerity, he offered me the charge of his signet, which I modestly declined, assuring him it could be in no better custody than his own. As I have been recently suspected of being willing to establish a principality at Kalát, by the aid of Arab auxiliaries, justly indignant at the imputation of so paltry a project, I may lament that at this time I did not lend a hand to the vision-seeing khân, and that I had not revived the old Bactrian empire. The khân farther observed that Dost Máhommed Khân could not assail him at Bámián; that he had, indeed, left the greater part of his wives with his family at Kábal, but that when he fled from Herát Prince Kamrán did not molest them, and he should hope Dost Máhommed Khân would in like manner respect them, and permit them to join him, if not, he coolly remarked, that he could get plenty more.

We halted some days at Shesh Búrjeh, and were joined by a party from Bámián, composed of Mír Wais, Tájik, and confidential agent of Máhommed Alí Beg of Séghân; two or three Uzbek vakíls of the chief of Shibrghân, bringing horses as presents to the khân and sirdár of Kábal; Mír Zaffer, the Hazára chief of Kálú; Mír Faizí, the Hazára chief of Foládí; these two subjects of the khân, with Karra Kúlí Khân, and two or three others in the khân's employ. The last gave an account of the



transactions which had taken place in the vale of Séghân; they reported, that the khân's troops, in conjunction with the Hazára infantry, and a Tatar force from the Dasht Saféd, had possessed themselves of five castles belonging to Máhoméd Ali Beg and his adherents, that the Hazáras originally stationed in the new conquests had voluntarily given them over to the Táatars, who now refused admission to the Afghâns, asserting, that they held them on behalf of Mír Morád Beg of Kúndúz. They continued, that the Hazára troops had returned to their homes, and strenuously insisted that they and their chief were acting treacherously toward the khân.

I was present at the evening's majlis, at which Mír Wais had his first interview with the khân. There was in company a large concourse of Hazára chiefs, all the new guests from Bámiân, Dost Máhoméd Khân, the khân's brother, a saiyad of Mastúng, in Balochistân, Réhimdád Khân, the former governor of Bámiân, with many others of less note. The khân descanted on the uncompromising conduct of Máhoméd Ali Beg towards himself; affirmed that he had rejected all his overtures of friendship; that he had duped all his náibs of Bámiân; that he had rendered himself infamous by his chappows (forays) for the purpose of carrying off slaves; that he had been audacious enough to kidnap five individuals from Shibr, immediate raiyats of his own, which the Hazáras virtually were, since they paid



him tribute; that on account of Máhoméd Ali Beg's contumacy, he had been compelled to defer the execution of his designs upon Deh Zanghí, Yek Auleng, and the Shékh Ali districts; that he had been necessitated to station three hundred troops in Bámiân, when every one of them was needed at Kábal; that this disposal of his troops had prevented him from giving assistance to that martyr to Islám, Saiyad Ahmed Sháh, who fell waging war with the infidel Síkhs. He contrasted his conduct with that of Mír Yezdânbaksh; enumerated the numerous important services the mír had rendered, and was rendering him; professed himself charmed with Mír Yezdânbaksh, and swore that he would reduce Máhoméd Ali Beg to the condition of a raiyat, or annihilate him. Mír Wais observed, that Máhoméd Ali Beg was willing to become his raiyat, or had the khân resolved to annihilate him, it was an easy matter. The khân continued; that he had no wish to annihilate, but it was necessary that the Séghân chief should become as truly attached to him as Mír Yezdânbaksh was; all the húshíarí he had hitherto displayed was on the side of falsehood, it now behoved him to veer to the side of truth. "Neither shall I be satisfied," said the khân, assuming the buskin, "with the possession of Séghân; I must have Káhmerd also; until I have reduced both the water of Kábal is ghost-khúk (swine-flesh) to me. Here," pointing to the saiyyad of Mastúng, "is a Saiyyad of Baloch;

shall I allow him to circulate in Baloch that I was baffled by Máhomed Alí Beg; and here," taking me by the hand, "is a Feringhí, shall I allow him to tell his countrymen that Hâjî Khân marched from Kábal with a fine force of gallant cavalry, and guns, and elephants, and returned without striking a blow? Forbid it, heaven!" Mír Wais reiterated, that if the khân could forget the past, Máhomed Alí Beg was now actuated only by sincerity, in which sentiments he was supported by Réhim-dád Khân, and Karra Kaúlí Khân. The khân, catching the eyes of the Hazára chiefs, asked Mír Wais, what makes you carry off and sell the Hazáras; are they not Mússulmâns, and Bandí Khodâ? He replied, that Máhomed Morád Beg was imperious in his demands for slaves; that grain, and not men, was the produce of Séghân, and that necessity led Máhomed Alí Beg to chapow the Hazáras. The khân said, if Máhomed Morád Beg requires men from you, refer him to me; if dissatisfied with my representations, I will send him my own sons. The khân asked Mír Wais, if Máhomed Alí Beg would join his camp in Bísút? who positively answered that he would not, but if the khân wished, he would send a son. The khân observed, that this was a subterfuge: Máhomed Alí Beg was aware that his son would be exposed to no injury, on the contrary, would be kindly treated; he knew that he (the khân) was a Mússulmán, and how could he punish an innocent youth for his father's crimes? Much

conversation passed, in which the khân was amazingly liberal in his own praises. He endeavoured to persuade every one that he was a most pious Mússulmán, that his gratitude to such as rendered him services was unbounded, as was his liberality and he instanced his having already expended above twelve thousand rupees as presents in Bísút. Whenever he alluded to Máhoméd Alí Beg he always expressed himself angrily, seeming to doubt his sincerity. At length Mír Wais rose, and seized the hem of the khân's garment, affirming, that he looked up to no other person, and conjuring him to suppose Máhoméd Alí Beg in the same condition. The khân applauded the action, and asked Mír Wais, if Máhoméd Alí Beg should hereafter turn to his old trick of deceit, whether he would abandon him, and adhere to himself. Mír Wais said he would, on which the khân immediately raised his hands and repeated fátíha, being joined as usual by the company.

At Azdhá, also, arrived in camp, Múlla Jân Máhoméd, bearer of letters and presents for the khân and sirdár of Kábal, from Mír Rústam, the chief of Khairpúr, in Upper Sind. This man had formerly been in the khân's service, and his governor at Bámián, but intriguing with the Hazára chiefs, the khân had seized him, confiscated his effects, and after shaving his beard, and subjecting him to a variety of ignominious treatment, set him at liberty, when he went to Sind, and found



service with Mír Rústam. Whatever the object of his mission might have been, it afforded the khân an opportunity of vaunting to the Hazáras that the following year he would lead an army of an hundred thousand Mússulmáns against the Síkhs infidels. Múlla Jân Máhoméd brought as presents, two Sindí muskets, one mounted in silver, the other in gold, cut-glass kílayún bottoms, shawls, mixed silk and cotton, of Sind fabric, British muslins, calicoes, &c., with three running, or márí camels.

The múlla, in his route from Khairpúr, had passed by Tobá, in the Kháká country, and brought intelligence to the khân of the decease of his brother, Gúl Máhoméd Khân, a rude but gallant soldier. This naturally affected the khân, and more particularly so at this crisis, when he had expected his arrival at Bámián in co-operation with the designs he entertained.

While at Azdhá two or three slight falls of snow occurred, on which occasions the khân summoned his sâzindas, or musicians, which gave rise among the troops to a contrast of his conduct with that of Amír Máhoméd Khân, who on the first appearance of snow hastily decamped for Kábal, even though the whole of the tribute had not been collected. We had also for two or three days, violent wind storms, which the Hazáras, skilful prognosticators of the weather, with the falls of snow, ascribed to a tokal, and affirmed they would be succeeded by fine settled weather. My horse,



however, was nearly destroyed, and having before been provided with a better one, for riding by the khân, I despatched it to Kâbal from this place, with Yûsef, who also complained of the cold.

Our next march was a long one of sixteen to eighteen miles, and conducted us to the frontiers of Jírgai and Búrjehgai. On leaving the valley of Shesh Búrjeh, a little north of the Azdhá, we passed amid low elevations covered with a deep red soil, and gained a narrow valley, down which flowed a rivulet, and to our left were two or three castles; this valley terminated in a narrow defile, which cleared, we entered upon a more level country, and the road was good and well-defined. Arrived at the zíarat of Tátar Walí, whom the Hazáras represent as having been brother to Bába Walí, whose zíarat is at Kandahár. This zíarat resembles in form and appearance that of Házzrat Sháh Mirdán at Azdhá, and adjacent to it are two kishláks, or villages. Hence, a long distance, passing a castle or two on our right, brought us to the valley of Ghírú Mainí, where we halted. Here were three or four castles, deserted by the inhabitants, who had also broken or hidden the grinding stones of their ássiáhs, or water-mills, of which there were six or seven seated on various parts of the rivulet which watered the valley. Many of the soldiers at this place, availing themselves of the castles and kishlaks deserted by the inhabitants, had made free with the wood employed in their con-

struction. The khân, observing this, paraded his camp, and with a large stick personally chastised those he detected with the wood in their possession.

At this place we made a halt of some days; for two or three the khân was indisposed, and his disorder at one time was so serious, that he became insensible. The chiefs of Jírgai and Búrjehgai, after some negotiation, consented to pay tribute; influenced a little by the approach of the khân, but more by the interposition of Mír Yezdânbaksh. The former district gave tribute to the amount of three thousand rupees, the latter to the value of seven thousand rupees. The khân originally insisted upon the delivery of two years' tribute, but the advanced state of the season, with his own anxiety to direct his attention to the affairs of Séghân and Kâhmerd, operated in favour of these Hazáras. Their chiefs, after the delivery of their tribute, joined the camp and received khelats. The khân, profuse in the distribution of presents, had long since exhausted the stock he brought from Kâbal, of shâls, lúng'hís, chapans, &c., and it was now amusing enough to see his servants, by his orders, despoiling the heads of the khânzâdâs his nephews, and others of his troops, to bestow them upon the Hazáras. Even this resource at last failed, and the peshkidmats were reduced to the expedient of purchasing a khelat from one who had received it, that they might re-deliver it to

the khân to confer upon another. Snow again fell here, but not in such quantity as to remain on the ground. Ghírú Mainí was the limit of our expedition, from which Karábâgh of Ghazní was represented to me as lying S. 20° E., three marches distant. The district of Jírgai was due west of it, and Búrjehgai north-west; the southern extremity of Deh Zanghí was pointed out as being about fifteen miles distant, its direction a little north of west.

We now retrograded and made a very long march of perhaps twenty-two to twenty-four miles. We followed nearly the same road by which we had advanced from Shesh Búrjeh, repassing the zíarat Tátar Walí, and crossing the valley of Shesh Búrjeh at a point more northerly than the Azdhá, which, although at no great distance, was not visible. At that spot we were compelled to be cautious in selecting our road, for the soil, although verdant and covered with grass, was boggy. The Hazáras told us that some years since a gun belonging to the Afghâns had been swallowed up in it. From this valley, a slight ascent passed, we entered into another, where were three castles, one called Killa Kâsim; hence, after traversing a bleak wild country, we finally reached Wújai, where we halted. Here were two or three castles, with a fine rivulet of water.

Our next march was the longest we had made. On starting, we crossed the rivulet of Wújai, and tra-



versing a high ground, had other two or three castles to our left. A long course over a wild dreary country brought us into the southern and most populous part of the plain Bâd Assiâh, a term which signifies windmill, but I looked in vain for such an object. In this plain were numerous castles and kishlâks; many of the houses displayed gûmbúzes, or domes, and many of the towers of the castles were also covered with them, imparting a novel and picturesque appearance. The cultivated land was of considerable extent. At the north-eastern extremity of the plain we crossed a very deep ravine, with a powerful rivulet flowing through it, after which we passed the castle, at which we remained a night when proceeding to join the khân's camp, as noted in the fourth march, and where Shâh Abbâs so signalized himself. I was in advance, riding with some of the khân's Hindús, and was not recognized by the inmates, but Sirkerder Kamber, who was behind, was on coming up taken into the castle, and regaled with milk. From this spot we passed the Kotal Sang Súrâkhí, and descended the valley of Ab Dilâwer,—both before described,—and crossed the Helmand at Ghowch Khol, halting on the high grounds beyond it, and near a castle, the proprietor of which, although a relative of Mír Yezdânbaksh, had thought prudent to fly, having on some occasion been imprudent enough to say he would slay the mír if opportunity occurred. Above us to the north was another castle, and two kishlâks. A



the season, as Mír Yezdânbaksh observed, prevented this year the collection of tribute from Delh Zanghí and Yek Auleng. During preceding years, when Amír Máhoméd Khân, the sirdár of Kâbal's brother, collected the revenue of Bisút, and when, unassisted by the influence of Mír Yezdânbaksh, he was left to pursue his own harsh and uncompromising measures, he was always compelled to leave a portion of it behind; and of the portion collected much was lost by the Hazáras chapowing the flocks in their passage to Kâbal and Ghazní. To the European, accustomed to transactions of consequence, the advantage of sending a large force on an expedition of two or three months for so small a sum as 40,000 rupees, or about £4000, may appear very equivocal; but, in these countries of poverty and bad management, even such a sum is deemed of importance. It serves also to appease the clamours of some of the hungry soldiery, and to furnish employment for others in the collection. The superior officer, and, indeed, all the troops employed, find a benefit in it, as their cattle are supplied gratis with chaff, and themselves with fuel, and sometimes food, which they would be obliged to purchase if stationary at Kâbal. It is the custom at every new encampment to furnish one day's provisions for the troops, collected from the inhabitants of the district. This, indeed, is chiefly profitable to the superior chief, who receives it; and, if he distributes it among

his followers, he charges it to their accounts. The chief likewise receives a great number of horses as peshkash, for no Hazára chief comes before him empty-handed. In the same manner he receives a great number of carpets, nammads, or felts, and barraks, or pieces of coarse woollen fabric, all of which he turns to profit, valuing them as money if made over to his troops, as well as being enabled to display a costless liberality. The provisions received with the peshkash offerings must all, therefore, be estimated at so much value received from the Hazáras, and included in the amount of tribute. The khân had collected as tribute, 60,000 rupees; under the heads just noted he had received probably more than half that amount, from which deducting the 40,000 rupees made over to the awâlehdárs, and 10,000 rupees, the value of the presents disbursed, we may safely calculate that the khân had netted a profit of 30,000 rupees; it being noted, that agreeably to the sheríkí, or partnership relation, in which the khân considers himself with the sirdár of Kâbal, he did not make over to him the excess in tribute collected.

With regard to the political situation of Bísút, it was evident that the khân, had he been zealous in devotion to Dost Máhommed Khân, had rendered that sirdár an important service, having placed the province, by his artful management, in a state of dependence it had never before acknowledged. The

little to the east was a deep ravine, through which flowed the stream which I have before noticed as joining the Helmand at this spot. The cold here was severe, and a rigorous frost predominated. The stream was not ice-bound, but its banks and the contiguous shrubs, were clad with vast icicles. Our ground of encampment was also free from snow, but it lay heavily on the hills we had to cross in the next march.

As this march closed our expedition in Bísút, Mír Yezdânbaksh had, by previous orders, collected at Ghoweh Khol large stores of provisions, which he presented to the khân. About to leave the province, it may be in place to note, briefly, the results of the khân's bloodless campaign. The revenue of Bísút, farmed by the khân at its accustomed valuation of forty thousand rupees, had been raised to sixty thousand rupees, the increase owing to the receipt of full tribute from some districts formerly wont to pay but half, or *sang ya búz*, and to the receipt of tribute full also from Jírgai and Búrgehgai, which before had paid no tribute at all. By the cordial coöperation of Mír Yezdânbaksh, the collection had been made with facility and promptitude, without the necessity of firing a musket. The Hazára chiefs were full of confidence in the good faith of the khân, and even two or three leaders of Deh Zanghí had visited his camp at Ghírú Mainí, and promised the next year to lead him into their country. Nothing but the untoward state of

revenue was augmented by one half, and the next year he might collect tribute from Delh Zanghí and Yek Auleng, as probably from the Shékh Ali districts, the chiefs of which it were absurd to suppose could resist the united forces of the khân and Mír Yezdânbaksh. It was fair to compute, that the revenue of the Hazára districts near Kâbal might be raised to one lách and a half of rupees, without including the incidental advantages, so considerable, as has been previously demonstrated. It was also pleasing to reflect, that these advantages might be gained without bloodshed, viewing the high character the khân seemed to have established among the Hazáras, and the apparently sincere attachment of Mír Yezdânbaksh to his interests. But knowing, as I did, the khân's secret intentions, I was not sanguine enough to imagine that these gratifying anticipations would be verified. It was probable, indeed, that Mír Yezdânbaksh, guided by his personal enmity to Dost Máhoméd Khân, and influenced by his confidence in the khân, would espouse his cause; and the large force he could bring into the field, with the khân's Kháká horse, were sufficient to create much uneasiness to Dost Máhoméd Khân, surrounded, as he is, by enemies. It was reasonable to suppose, that the khân and mír united might be enabled effectually to resist the efforts of Dost Máhoméd Khân, even if he put forth his strength; while, if discomfited, the Shías of



Kábal, who could not separate their interests from those of Mír Yezdānbaksh, and who considered the khān as their friend, were always at hand to interpose and negotiate a reconciliation. Mír Yezdānbaksh, we may note, was a man of about forty years of age, of tall, athletic form, with a remarkably long neck. His complexion was ruddy and his features prominent, of the genuine Hazára cast, but withal pleasing; he had scarcely any beard, or rather a few straggling hairs in place of one. When in company, he had always his tasbīh, or string of beads, in his hand, which he passed between his fingers, ejaculating lowly to himself, and turning his head continually from one side to the other, with his eyes averted upwards, like a person abstracted in thought, or even like one insane. He usually sat bare-headed, alleging, that his head was hot, and that he could bear no pressure upon it. On the line of march, were the cold ever so intense, he always rode with a simple cap, without other covering, and only on extraordinary occasions did he put on a turban of white muslin. His garments were plain and unaffected; his vest of barrak of Deh Zanghí, with two stripes of gold lace down the front. A lúnghí was his kammar-band, in which was inserted a Hazára knife. He seldom took part in general conversation, and, indeed, seldom spoke at all, unless immediately addressed, when his answers and remarks were brief and pertinent. His appearance and manners were

certainly singular, but would, nevertheless, induce the observer to credit his being an extraordinary man, which he undoubtedly was.

From Ghowch Khol our march, in the direction of Bámián, was a very long one. Traversing the table space, on the extremity of which we had encamped, and passing a castle and two or three kishláks, we entered the ravine, down which flowed the rivulet before mentioned, and followed its course nearly north east; our road led over rocks of dark primitive slate, and, although the course of the rivulet was sometimes very narrow, was not upon the whole difficult to cavalry, although impracticable to wheel-carriages. We eventually reached the base of the Kotal Síáh Rég, or the pass of black sand. The ascent would not probably be very difficult, or even very long at any other time, but now was troublesome, from the frozen snow, which caused many of our animals, particularly the laden ones, to slip, and lose their footing. On gaining the summit of the pass, which was strewn with huge fragments of rock, we had a splendid view of the hilly regions around us; below us were the few castles of the district called Síáh Sang, to gain which a long and precipitous descent was to be made. To our left we had, very near, the craggy pinnacles of Koh Báábá, seen to advantage from the plains of the south. I dismounted, and sat awhile on the rocks; when the khán arrived, who also dismounted, and took a

survey of the country around with his durbín, or spy-glass. We were joined by Mír Yezdânbaksh, who pointed out the position of Ghorband, and other places. The idols of Bámiân were not hence visible. The mír obtained permission to visit his castle of Kârzâr, not far distant to the right, and left us at this spot. The descent of this pass was so difficult that most of us thought fit to lead our horses. On reaching Síah Sang we took a westerly direction, and crossed two successive and long passes, with rounded summits, the country covered with snow; and descended into a valley, leading into the vale of Kâlú, through which passing many castles and kishláks, we proceeded to the western extremity, and encamped near the castles occupied by the chief Mír Zaffer, and his relatives. The spot itself was free from snow, which lay on the low hills behind us to the south, as well as on the loftier ones to the north. We here observed the scanty crops of wheat at the skirts of the hills bounding the vale, still green, and immersed in snow. The principal crops had, indeed, been reaped, but heaps of the untrodden sheaves were lying on the plain, some of them covered with snow. Kâlú is one of the principal districts dependent on Bámiân, and contains some twenty castles and a few kishláks. Its chief, Mír Zaffer, Hazára, had a family connexion with Mír Yezdânbaksh. He had joined the khân's camp in Bísút, and now provided an abundance of provisions. The mír was about

fifty years of age, tall, stout, and of respectable appearance; of manners frank, and in conversation plain and sensible.

From Kâlú, passing south of the castle of Mír Zaffer, called Killa Nôh (the new castle), built on an eminence, with some ruins of burnt bricks on the summit of a hill to the left, we proceeded to the base of the pass, or Kotal Haft Pailân. The commencement of the ascent was somewhat steep, but the road large and unencumbered with rock or stone; this surmounted, the road winds round the brows of elevations and then stretches over a gradually ascending plain until we reach the crest of the pass. Hence we had a magnificent view of mountain scenery. The hills of Bámíân and vicinity were splendid, from the bright red soil with which many are covered, interspersed with sections of white and green. The mountains of Túrústân in the distance presented a beautiful and boundless maze. The valley of Bámíân was displayed, and the niches in the hills which contain its idols visible. The descent of the kotal, although of great length, was perfectly easy, and the road excellent throughout: it led us into the northern extremity of the vale of Topchí, where we found a rivulet fringed with numerous mountain willows, a spot revered as a zíárat of Házzrat Alí, and above which was an ancient tower, perched on a rock. A little below we encamped; and near to us were five or six castles, of a red colour, which distinguishes the soil and



most of the hills of the vale. In those to the west were some inhabited caves, or samúches. Up the darra, or defile, leading from Topchí is a road, which avoids entirely the Kotal of Haft Pailân, and leads to its base. Some of our cattle followed this road. The inhabitants of the place provided the khân with supplies.

Proceeding down the valley of Topchí for above two miles, we entered the valley of Bámiân at a spot called Ahínghar, or the iron foundry. The rivulets of Topchí here also fell into the river of Bámiân; its course had been, latterly, fringed with zirishk, or barberry bushes, mixed with a few tamarisk shrubs. Towards the close of the valley, on the hills to the east, were some ancient ruins. At Ahínghar were two castles with kishláks, and hills to the north had a few inaccessible caves. From Ahínghar, proceeded westerly, up the valley of Bámiân, skirting the low hills to the north, the river flowing in a deep bed in a more or less extensive plain beneath us to the left. The hills soon began to be perforated with caves, which increased in number as we advanced. Passing the castle of Amír Máhoméd Tájík to our right, we arrived opposite the ruinous citadel of Ghúlghúleh, where in the hills near to it on the opposite side of the valley, were great numbers of caves. A short distance brought us to Bámiân, where we encamped, opposite the colossal idols. The troops this day marched in line, with banners displayed; the khân

preceding with his Khâká horse, being followed by the feeble line of the Ghúlám Khâna. Amid the beating of nágáras he entered Bámíân, and received the congratulations and welcome of his raiyats. Our guns had been left in Bísút to be dragged through by the Hazáras.

We found a strange state of things at Bámíân; the winter had set in prematurely, and the sheaves of grain were lying untrodden under snow. The oldest inhabitants did not remember such an occurrence.

We halted here several days, and a vast quantity of provisions and provender was collected from the inhabitants of Bámíân and dependent districts. The Hazára troops had now become guests of the khân, and received rations in the same manner as his own troops. On our arrival here Mír Wais, the agent of Máhoméd Alí Beg, accompanied by Múlla Shahábadín on part of the khân, set off for Séghân. Mír Yezdánbáksh rejoined the Afghân camp, and the Hazára auxiliary force was augmented by the arrival of four hundred horse from Deh Zanghí, commanded by two young chiefs, related to Mír Yezdánbaksh. In the course of a few days Mír Wais and Múlla Shahábadín arrived in camp, bringing with them Máhoméd Hassan, a son of Máhoméd Alí Beg, and five or six horses as pesh-kash. Máhoméd Hassan was a very handsome youth, of about sixteen years of age, and was received with much kindness by the khân, who

seated him on his knee. Máhoméd Ali Beg had entirely gained over Múlla Shahábádín by presenting him with a chapán of scarlet broad-cloth, two horses, and, as was said, a few tillas (gold coin) of Bokhára; and a treaty had been concluded, by which the Séghán chief acknowledged himself a tributary to the khân, and consented to give him his daughter in marriage. These arrangements, however consonant with the khân's ideas and views, were by no means agreeable to the Hazáras, the destruction of Máhoméd Ali Beg having been ever held out to them as the reward for their co-operation, and which the khân had vowed, in numberless fátíhas, in Bísút. An advance having been determined upon, on Séghán and Káhmér, Máhoméd Hassan, after receiving a magnificent khelat, was dismissed in charge of Mír Wais; the khân, in order still to amuse the Hazáras, avowing, he would only be satisfied with the personal attendance and submission of Máhoméd Ali Beg. One of the khân's finest horses was also despatched as a present to the Séghán chief.

## CHAPTER XV.

Colonel Tod's observations on Bámiân.—Opportunities of examination.—Inscription.—Memoir.—Idols and caves.—Testimony of Abúl Fazil.—Conjecture on idols.—Buddhist temples and idols in Salsette.—Analogy with Bámiân idols.—Paintings.—Parthian coins.—Conclusion and influences.—Antiquity of Kaiân dynasty.—Curious coincidence.—Towers.—The Castle of Zohák.—Construction.—Probable nature.—Remains of Ghúlghúleh.—The citadel.—Buildings.—Discoveries.—Defences.—Site of city.—Solemnity of scene.—Emotions.—Effect of winds.—Alexandria ad Caucasum.

WE were encamped at Bámiân opposite to the idols and caves, so much the objects of European curiosity. I was aware of the importance attaching to them, and that the late Colonel Tod had affirmed, that "In the cave temples of Bámiân inscriptions might be met with; and were but the single fact established that the colossal figures in the temple were Buddhist, it would be worth a journey. Perhaps no spot in the world is more curious than this region."

As my stay at this time was brief, I could do little more than visit and examine the antiquities, with the view of ascertaining what they were,—a necessary step prior to speculating on their origin and character. On my return from Séghân, one of



the most intense winters remembered prevented farther research, which I did not much regret at the time, supposing I should be able at a future period to resume my inquiries. I did not, indeed I could not, foresee that circumstances would arise to defeat my intentions.

I had discovered, in the niche of the superior idol, a six-lettered inscription, with which, and the other facts I collected, I returned to Kâbal. Subsequently, the discovery of a coin of a well-marked series, with a legend, plainly in similar characters, encouraged me to attempt the removal of the mystery enshrouding the remains, especially as the coin presented the bust of a sovereign identical with one figured amongst the paintings in the niche of the second idol as to size, unquestionably establishing a connexion between them. I therefore drew up a Memoir on the Antiquities of Bâmiân, which I forwarded through my friend, Sir Henry Pottinger, to the late ever-to-be-lamented James Prinsep, and which was inserted in his *Journal of the Asiatic Society in Bengal*.

In it I pointed out that there were now in existence three large idols, with the niches in which many other smaller ones had once stood. That every idol had its suit of caves, amongst which some had domes or vaulted roofs, being, as I supposed, temples. I further showed, that besides the mass of caves obviously connected with the idols, there were certain apertures in the face of the rock, now inaccessible,

which never could have been intended for dwellings of the living, but were, probably, the repositories of the dead. I could but remember that the corpses of the older Persian monarchs were consigned to such receptacles, and I thence drew an inference bearing materially on the character of the locality. I have since observed, not without satisfaction, that Abúl Fazil notes, that in his time the inhabitants showed a corpse in one of the caves, whose state of preservation, and period of deposit, were matters of wonder and conjecture to them. No doubt an embalmed corpse of an ancient sovereign of the country, or other illustrious person deposited here.

Presuming the site to be one of royal sepulture, it occurred to me, that the statues might represent sovereigns or the deities they adored. This question remains to be decided. It has been remarked to me that Lieutenant Burnes in his visit saw the remains of mitres on the heads of the two longer statues. I did not notice this peculiarity, (no proof that it does not exist, as it may have escaped my attention,) yet, could I be certain of it, I should be more confident that they are not images of Búddha, which I believe are never so distinguished. I have recently visited the Búddhist temples in the island of Salsette, and certainly there can be no doubt of the resemblance between the colossal figures of Búddha in them, and those of the Bámíán niches. They are, in like manner, erect, clothed in the same



VIEW of a portion of the CAVERs at BAMIÂN and of the SECOND IDOL.





drapery, and stand in the same attitude. Amongst the innumerable smaller seated figures of Búddha at Salsette the attitudes are only three, those of meditation, prayer, and teaching or expounding. The colossal and erect figures invariably represent him in the last, or teaching attitude, with one arm extended, while the other supports the drapery of his robes, which attitude is that of the Bámián idols. The latter, in common with those of Salsette, have what have been called "pendulous ears," but an examination of the Salsette images enabled me to verify, beyond doubt, that the ears have been formed with due care as to their proportions, the seeming excess being merely occasioned by the rings affixed to them, which is manifest in all of them when closely inspected, but palpably so in some instances where circular rings have been substituted for the ordinary oblong and lengthened ones.

The inscription over the superior idol at Bámián induced me to suggest to James Prinsep, that with reference to the number of its letters, and the recurrence of some of them, it might be the equivalent for Nanaia; but this was merely a suggestion, and not entitled to much weight. The painted bust of the sovereign in the niche of the second idol, identical with the coin bust, I consider, however, of greater importance, if the probability be admitted that its presence would intimate that the idol and its accompaniments were due to the monarch whose

portrait has been preserved and handed down to us, for if we can establish the age of the coins we have also that of the monuments.

On regarding the paintings at Bámíán, it struck me that it would be unreasonable to assign them any inexplicable antiquity, and equally so to suppose them late additions with relation to the idols, for they are equally found in all the niches, whether now occupied or not by idols, and were clearly a portion of their original embellishments, and I have been gratified to observe in the Búddhist temples at Salsette that such embellishments are there also part of the very system of the cave temples, which would not have been complete without them.

Reverting to the coin which bears the bust of a sovereign commemorated at Bámíán, we find it one of a series extensively found in Afghânistân, the reverse of which displays a plain fire-altar, or what has been called such. Comparing them with known coins, the busts have a great resemblance to those of the Arsakian, or Parthian dynasty of Persia; and this caused Colonel Tod, who had discovered some of them in India, to designate them as "rare ones of a Parthian dynasty, unknown to history." Parthian coins, or such as are Arsakian, have never, however, the fire-altar, therefore the coins under notice cannot be referred to them, unless they are supposed to be merely provincial coins, which is very doubtful. Sassanian coins have, indeed, the fire-altar, but it is always accompanied with two maji, or defenders,

consequently there is a distinction between them and the coins we find in Afghânistân.

In considering to what line of princes these coins might be assigned, I ventured in my memoir to intimate the possibility of their appertaining to the Kaiân dynasty, so renowned in oriental records; and this intimation led me to conclusions and inferences very much at variance with received notions and opinions. James Prinsep privately informed me, that he scarcely agreed with me, but afterwards in his *Journal*, on more occasions than one, evinced that my conjectures had engaged his attention.

In the location of the Kaiân kings in Ariana, or Khorasân, instead of in Fars, or Persia, I had only adopted the statements of their historians and poets; but in assigning their epoch to an intelligible and comparatively modern period I had impaired the mystery thrown over Zerdasht, and disturbed the reveries of the learned in Europe, who fondly believed the reformer of Azerbîjân to be the Zoroaster of Plato and the classical authors.

It would be inconsistent with the object of these volumes, or with the limits prescribed to them, to discuss these points with the detail due to them, and I may probably take another opportunity of bringing them to the notice of the scientific world, feeling assured that labour would not be misdirected in establishing facts so important to history at large, especially to that of the dark middle ages. I have suspected that the Kaiâns may have been



the White Huns of India, the royal Huns of western historians, but I find as many reasons against as for the suspicion, both as regards the great family of nations to which they belonged, and the date of their appearance in Central Asia. There is a remarkable circumstance noted in the history of the Kaiân prince Gustasp, who has been oddly enough supposed to be Darius Hystaspes, which I cannot pass over. The Chinese in his reign captured Balkh (his capital), and *burned the books* of Zerdasht. We learn from other sources that Chinese armies appeared, *for the first time*, in Central Asia, where they penetrated to the Caspian Sea, in the reign of Tsin-she-hwang-te, who flourished in the second century before Christ, and acquired celebrity as a *burner of books*. If this Chinese emperor were the foe of Gustasp, we gain the date of the Kaiân dynasty and of Zerdasht, but one fatal to the Hun hypothesis.

Besides the idols and caves extending for miles in the valley of Bâmiân, there are other objects deserving notice; the towers on the summits of many eminences, the so-called castle of Zohâk, and the remains of the city and citadel of Ghûlghûleh. The towers are probably pyrethræ, or fire-altars, for their solidity of structure prevents them being supposed to be mere watch-towers, while at Séghân one occurs immediately over a collection of caves, seeming to confirm the relation between them, and to indicate its nature. Numerous monuments of



this description are found in the regions around Bámíán.

The castle of Zohâk is at the extremity of a defile, through which the rivulet of Kâlú flows into the river of Bámíán. The remains facing the east encompass the angular point of the hill interposed between the two streams, and consist of walls and parapets, built from the base to the summit, with an elevation, loosely estimated, of seventy or eighty feet. They conform to the irregular contour of the rock, and the difficulties to be overcome have been made subservient to the superior embellishment of the structure, for the walls have been carried up in some places by a succession of terraces, or steps; in some by a slope of inclination; in others by perpendicular elevation, but in such variety of combination, and so judiciously as to create astonishment and give a most pleasing effect. Excellent burnt bricks have been employed, and in the arrangement of these, along the upper lines of parapets, and those of walls and their sections, care has been taken to describe ornamental devices of diamond squares, and other figures. Owing to the quality of the materials, and the solidity of their preparation, the greater portion of these interesting remains have as fresh an appearance as if they were the work of yesterday, while their great antiquity is obvious, and cannot be doubted. Connected with them, on the summit of the hill, are the dilapidated walls of a spacious

square enclosure. I had not the opportunity to examine this spot, and the merely having seen it, would scarcely, I fear, authorize me to pronounce positively as to its character. That the remains are those of a fortress, as asserted by Abul Fazil, and by tradition, I may be allowed to doubt, because it is not very apparent why a fortress should have been erected in so unprofitable a locality. Years have elapsed since I beheld the remains of the castle of Zohâk, but subsequent observation, and research in other parts, lead me to the inference that they are, like so many other analogous edifices abounding in similarly secluded sites throughout the Afghân countries, places of sepulchral and religious privacy, the superiority of their construction showing that they received the ashes of the high-born and the illustrious of the land. Whether the name of Zohâk be as justly as it is intimately associated with the spot we cannot determine, but the mere circumstance of its being so deserves to be noted.

The evidences of Ghúlghúleh are many and considerable, proving that it must have been an extensive city. The most remarkable are the remains of the citadel, on an isolated eminence in the centre of the valley, its base washed by the river of Bá-miân. They are picturesque in appearance, although bare and desolate, as well from the form and disposition of the walls and towers, as from the aspect of the eminence on which they stand, whose earthy

sides are furrowed by the channels silently worn in them by rains. Many of the apartments have their walls pretty entire, with their niches well preserved; they are, of course, filled, more or less, with rubbish and débris.

Some few are distinguished by slight architectural decorations, as to their plaster mouldings, but all of them must have been confined and inconvenient dwellings, being necessarily, as to extent, affected by the scanty area comprised within the limits of the fortress. Excavations have been sometimes made by the inhabitants of the vicinity, and arrow-heads, with masses of mutilated and effaced manuscripts, are said to have been found. The latter are plausibly supposed to have been archives, and are written, it is asserted, in Persian characters. Chance also frequently elicits coins, but so far as I could learn, they are invariably Cufic, which, if true, would fix a period for the origin of the place. On the eastern front the walls of the outer line of defence are in tolerable repair, and are carried much nearer the base of the eminence than on the other sides. They are tastefully constructed, and have loop-holes, as if for matchlocks, though they may have been intended for the discharge of arrows; still we are not certain whether the ruins extant are those of the stronghold destroyed by Jenghiz Khân, or of some more recent edifice, which, adverting to native traditions, may have succeeded it. The walls of the citadel,

and of all the enclosed buildings, have been formed of unburnt bricks. The adjacent castle, called Killa Dokhtar, the castle of Alladád Khân, is built of superior kiln-burnt bricks.



REMAINS OF THE CITADEL OF GHULGHULEH.

Besides these primary objects, there are very many dilapidated mosques and tombs, as might be expected, on the site of a decayed Máhomedan city, and the broken undulating ground south of the river of Bámíán, to the foot of the hills confining the valley, is strewn with mounds, and the remains of walls and buildings; and these, say the present inhabitants, occupy the "assal," or veritable site of the city of Ghúlghúleh.

The traveller surveying from the height of Ghúlghúleh, the vast and mysterious idols, and the mul-



titude of caves around him, will scarcely fail to be absorbed in deep reflection and wonder, while their contemplation will call forth various and interesting associations in his mind. The desolate spot itself has a peculiar solemnity, not merely from its lonely and startling evidences of past grandeur, but because nature appears to have invested it with a character of mystery and awe. The very winds, as they whistle through its devoted pinnacles and towers, impart tones so shrill and lugubrious as to impress with emotions of surprise the most indifferent being. So surprising is their effect that often while strolling near it the mournful melody irresistibly rivetting my attention, would compel me involuntarily to direct my sight to the eminence and its ruined fanes, and frequently would I sit for a long time together expecting the occasional repetition of the singular cadence. The natives may be excused, who consider these mournful and unearthly sounds as the music of departed souls and of invisible agents; and we may suspect that their prevalence has gained for the locality the appellation of Ghúl-ghúleh, slightly expressive of the peculiarity.

Bámíân has been conjectured the site of Alexandria ad Caucasum; to which it may be objected that it lies north of the Hindú Kosh, and not south, as Alexandria would appear to have been.

## CHAPTER XVI.

March from Bámián. — Súrkhdar. — Azdhá. — Ak-Robát. — Kotal Ak-Robát. — Noh Régh. — Máhoméd Ali Beg's sons. — Their dismissal. — Arrival of Máhoméd Ali Beg. — Killa Sir Sang. — Fall of snow. — Supplies. — Máhoméd Ali Beg. — The khán's conference. — Pertinacity of Hazára chiefs. — Despatch of Sádadin. — Exchange of presents. — Mission from Tatar chiefs. — Their language. — Anger of khán. — Ráhmatalah Beg's agent. — The khán's professions. — Ráhmatalah Beg — His festive habits. — Kíllieh Ali Beg's generosity. — Marriage of the khán — His ill-humour. — Reason for it. — Arrival of the khán's brothers. — Guns. — Suspicions of Hazáras. — Flight of Mír Báx Ali. — Detachment against Káhmérd. — March to base of Kotal Nál-patch. — Killa Káfr. — Salute of artillery. — Killa Khwoja. — Noon repast. — Guests. — The khán's discourse on Feringhís. — History of Amír Khán. — Máhoméd Azem Khán's prayer. — Revenue of Kábal, &c. — Mír Yezdánbaksh's opinion of cholera. — Case of an old physician. — Reconnoissance. — Tatar movements. — Return to camp. — Levée. — Mír Yezdánbaksh seized. — Plunder of Hazára camp. — Hazára flight and pursuit. — Lamentable condition of the prisoners. — The khán's precautions. — Seizure at Ak-Robát. — The khán's remark. — Justifies himself to the Ghúlám Khána. — Imputes treachery to Mír Yezdánbaksh. — Retrograde march to Killa Sir Sang. — Hazára prisoners. — Reverse of fortune. — Indignation in the camp. — Máhoméd Jáffar Khán's remark. — The khán's solicitude. — Resolution of Mír Yezdánbaksh. — Enormity of seizure. — Sorrow of Sádadin. — Mír Yezdánbaksh's intentions. — Refined cruelty. — The khán's objects. — Danger of short supplies. — News from Káhmérd. — Introduction of Ajer chief. — The khán's visit to Mír Yezdánbaksh, and his proposals. — Hazáras intercepted by Máhoméd Ali Beg. — The mír placed in irons. — Meteors. — March towards Bámián. — Search for plunder. — Hazára captives. — Ak-Robát. — Súrkhdar. — Arrival at Bámián.

WHEN the khân was prepared to march from Bámíân we proceeded up the valley, under the low hills to the north, mostly perforated with caves, many of which were inhabited. Cultivation was general, and in the bed of the valley were numerous castles. After a course of about four miles the valley narrowed, and passing a defile, we entered into the small valley of Súrkhdar, where we encamped. The soil, and many of the hills, were red, whence the name of the spot, the red valley. On the hills were some ancient ruins, and a branch of the river of Bámíân flowed through our encampment. A little south of us, but not visible, from the intervening hills, was the Azdhá, or dragon of Bámíân, a natural curiosity, analogous in character to that of Bísút, but of much larger size. To it the same superstitious reverence is attached, and, like it, it is believed to have been a monster destroyed by Házrat Alí.

From Súrkhdar we ascended the hills to the north, and for a long distance passed over an irregular ascending surface, the road always good. Numbers of deer were seen in this march. At length, a gradual descent brought us into a small vale, where were some chaman, and a rivulet, but no inhabitants; whence another hill, of the same easy character as the preceding, was crossed, and we entered the valley of Ak-Robát. Here was some cultivation, a fine rivulet, and chaman, with a solitary castle. Ascending the valley, we reached

the pass, or Kotal Ak-Robát, having passed to the east of the valley some considerable ancient remains on the hills. The pass was tolerably easy, but on the summit we encountered a sharp wind for which it is remarkable, and the pass is emphatically designated a *bâd-khâna*, or place of wind. The descent was also gradual and unimpeded, and brought us into a fair valley; the rivulet flowing to the north, as that of Ak-Robát does to the south. At length we reached an expanded tract, called Noh Régh, or the nine sands, where we halted. Supplies were derived from castles to our right and left, at no great distance, but not discernible—those to the right at a spot called Gharow.

When about to march from Noh Régh, the second son of Máhoméd Ali Beg arrived in camp, and paid his respects to the *khân*, who immediately dismissed him, and he returned in all speed to his father. From Noh Régh the valley contracted, and became little better than a continued defile; at one spot we had to our left a small grove of trees, denoting a *zíarat*, the branches decorated with a variety of rags, and horns of deer, goats, and other animals, a mode by which rural shrines in this part of the country are distinguished. A little beyond it the valley expanded, and we had a ruinous modern castle on the eminences to the right, and there was also an inhabited village of caves. Here we were met by the eldest son of Máhoméd Ali Beg. Him also the *khân* dismissed; and he re-



turned galloping to his father. From hence the valley was a complete defile, and so continued until it opens into the valley of Séghân. There Máhommed Alí Beg presented himself, proffered all devotion and submission, and was, in return, embraced by the khán. Commanding the gorge of this defile is a castle called Killa Sir Sang, seated on an eminence; whence its name, the castle on the rock. Immediately beyond it, we crossed the rivulet of Séghân, and encamped on the rising grounds north of the valley. This castle, the stronghold of Máhommed Alí Beg, had been evacuated by his orders, and he tendered it to the khán as a pledge of his sincerity, who ordered Afghân troops to garrison it. The castle itself was a rude, shapeless building, with no pretensions to strength but what it derived from its site, although, in the estimation of the Séghânchís, it is the key to Túrústân. On our gaining this ground we had a fall of snow. About a mile west of us was the castle in which Máhommed Alí Beg himself resided. In that direction were several other castles, and the valley was pretty open.

At Séghân large supplies were received from Máhommed Alí Beg, but the khán was also necessitated to draw considerable supplies from Bámián, as the consumption of the united Afghân and Hazára force could not be met by the produce of Séghân. Máhommed Alí Beg, however he endeavoured to conceal them, entertained apprehensions for his personal safety, as was evident from his car-

riage and demeanour. On the evening of our arrival the gun we had with us was discharged; he was in camp, and became much terrified, and was re-assured only when informed that it was an Afghân custom to fire a salute on encampment in a new country. This chief, who had rendered himself in these countries of so much notoriety, and who had become the terror of the Hazárajât, was of middle stature, stout built, and from forty-five to fifty years of age. His countenance was forbidding, and his general bad aspect was increased by an awkwardness of his eyes; in fact, he was near-sighted. He dressed meanly, but his horse was magnificently accoutred, and his saddle-cloth was of gold. For his services to Máhomed Morád Beg in procuring slaves, he had been styled Mîn Beghí, or the commander of a thousand men; the flattery of Múlla Shahábadín now elevated him into the Chírâghadín, or the light or lamp of religion. We here learned that the superior chief of Dêh Zanghí had nearly reached Bámíân with five hundred horse, when hearing of the negotiations pending between the khân and Máhomed Alí Beg, he had returned in disgust.

The khân at this place assembled in his tent Máhomed Ali Beg, Mír Yezdânbaksh, Mír Báz Alí, and the various Hazára chiefs, and exhorted them all to a reconciliation. Much debate ensued, and numerous accusations and retorts passed on either side, but ultimately a Korân was produced, and on it both parties swore forgetfulness of the past and

good-will for the future. During this scene the khân was much ruffled by the pertinacity of some of the Hazára chiefs. Máhoméd Alí Beg afterwards restored to liberty some ten or twelve Hazára slaves, as he said, on the khân's account.

The khân's náib, Sádadín, who from the first had been the medium of his intercourse with Mír Yezdánbaksh, and a party to the many oaths that had been passed between him and the khân, was now despatched with the mír to meet Sháh Pessand, a Tatar chief on the Dasht Saféd. With a small party of horse they proceeded, and were met on the Dasht by Sháh Pessand, also slightly attended. The Tatar chief accepted as a present from the náib his chapán of blue broad-cloth, and gave him in return his own, lined with fur: to the Hazára mír he presented three horses as peshkash, and he promised the next day to send his brother, accompanied by agents, on behalf of his allies, with horses as peshkash to the khân.

The following day the brother of Sháh Pessand, with agents of the Sirdár Saiyad Máhoméd, Ferhád, and other Tatar chiefs, arrived in camp, bringing four or five horses as peshkash. The agent of Ráhmátúlah Beg, the Tájík chief of Kálherd, also joined, with three peshkash horses; but it was known that Ráhmátúlah had sent his eldest son to Kúndúz for instructions how to act in the present conjuncture. The brother of Sháh Pessand was the principal orator in the interview with the Khân.



He said, that if it were required of them to acknowledge Afghán supremacy, they could not do so, as they acknowledged that of Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg; who, content with their simple acknowledgment, and their readiness to furnish komak, or an auxiliary force, when called upon, did not exact tribute from them. That they would prefer dependency on the Afgháns to that on the Uzbeks; that the season for action this year was past, but that if the khán appeared in the field in spring, with a fair force, they would join him, and march with him even to Kúndúz. Under any circumstances, he positively affirmed, that they would not suffer the khán to enter their lands; that they had numerous gardens; and that if the khán ventured to enter the Dasht Saféd, he must prepare for an engagement. This language was but ill relished by the khán, who made use of all his eloquence, alternately menacing and soothing; he even occasionally indulged in terms of abuse,—which he uttered, however, in Pashto, to his auditors unintelligible. They firmly adhered to their sentiments; and the khán ultimately bestowed *khelats* on them, and dismissed them, vehemently swearing that he would put an end to the shuffling tricks of the Táatars. The agent of Ráhmátúlah Beg spoke much in the same strain as the Táatar agents, and observed, that his master had referred to Máhoméd Morád Beg, and if he were willing



to relinquish his claims, the Káhmerd chief was ready to acknowledge those of the Afghâns.

The khân, while he vowed not to be satisfied with unmeaning pretexts, was very careful not to speak in ungracious terms of Ráhmatúlah Beg, for whom he professed to entertain a most particular esteem, and regretted that he did not come to his camp and seek his friendship. The fact was, Ráhmatúlah Beg had considerable wealth, which it was the khân's object to obtain, and this could only be done by securing his person; on this account, even when in Bísút, inveighing against Máhoméd Alí Beg, he had always spoken flatteringly of Ráhmatúlah Beg, under the idea that the conversation would be reported to him, and secure his confidence. This Ráhmatúlah Beg is generally known by the name of Ráhmatúlah Díwâna, or the madman. For a number of years he has governed the small but luxuriant valley of Káhmerd, and from his youth has passed his life in the enjoyments of wine and music. A man of strong natural sense, he has always contrived to command respect among his neighbours, while his inoffensive manners have disposed the most rigid of Máhomedan bigots to regard with forgiving eye his festivities and illicit indulgences. Many years since he had provoked the resentment of the illustrious Kilich Alí Beg of Balkh, who entered Káhmerd with an army. Ráhmatúlah Beg on this occasion collected all his property, as

shâls, chapans, silks, kímkábs, broad-cloth, horse furniture, weapons, &c., and exposing them to the view of the Uzbek chief, invited him to take what he pleased. Killich Alí Beg took one shâl and one piece of kímkáb, a demonstration of friendship rather than of superiority, asserting for himself that he would ever hold his person, wealth, and authority inviolate, and as long as he lived cause others to respect them. He told him also to enjoy the pleasures of wine and music as he had been wont to do. The same indulgence he experiences from Máhomed Morád Beg, who even, considering him a privileged being, himself supplies him with strong drinks, when he may be his guest at Kúndúz.

One of the strange events which occurred during our stay at Séghân, was the marriage of the khân with the daughter of Máhomed Alí Beg, which was solemnized the day after our arrival. The khân, attended only by a few of his pëshkidmats and his musicians, repaired to the Séghân chief's castle, and Múlla Shahábadín performed the nikáb, or marriage ceremony. On the morning of the next day the khân returned to camp, and received a variety of congratulatory salutations, but it was plain he was in very ill humour; he had been taken in: his new bride, whom he had expected to find remarkably beautiful, from the report of Mulla Shahábadín and others, and from the universally acknowledged personal charms of her mother, proved to be an ill-favoured, snub-nosed Hazára

wench. Moreover, it was known to others, though probably not to the *khân*, that she was not the daughter of Máhoméd Alí Beg, inasmuch as her mother had been married to a Hazára, whom Máhoméd Alí Beg slew, for the sake of obtaining his wife, whose fame for beauty was far spread. He received her pregnant into his family, and the fruit of her labour was the daughter now bestowed upon Hâjî Khân.

At Séghân also arrived from Ghazní two of the *khân*'s brothers, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân and Khân Máhoméd Khân. They brought about one hundred horse, and reported in high terms of satisfaction the attentions paid to them in Bísút, particularly their reception at the castle of Mír Yezdânbaksh at Kârzár.

Intelligence was now received of the arrival of the large gun at Bámiân. I should before have noted, that on our march from Ghoweh Khol to Kâlú by the Kotal Síah Régh, the two guns, with the elephant, were despatched by the route of Feraí Kholm and Kârzár. The smaller gun reached us at Bámiân, but the larger had broken down on the road, and from the delays and difficulties in repairing the carriage, had only now reached Bámiân.

It was but natural that the *khân*'s alliance with Máhoméd Alí Beg should excite suspicions among the Hazáras, and the first who manifested them was Mír Bâz Alí, next to Mír Yezdânbaksh the most considerable of them. He, alleging sickness,



solicited his dismissal, which the khân granted, but angrily, telling him, not to present himself before him again with his salâm, or bow of obedience, and directing him to leave his son with a body of troops in camp. On the ensuing night Mír Báz Ali, his son, and about five hundred horse, silently decamped, and the morning but discovered to the khân that the birds had flown, without showing the course of their flight. There were still about two thousand Hazára horse with us, under Mír Yezdânbaksh and the two young chiefs of Dêh Zanghî.

The khân having decided to advance upon the Dasht Safêd, Réhimdad Khân, with one hundred horse, chiefly Jísâldhís, was despatched, in conjunction with Máhoméd Ali Beg, to reduce the castles in Káhmerd. The khân probably expected to gain his objects by finesse and intimidation, as he positively enjoined Réhimdad Khân to avoid battle and the loss of men.

The khân having assembled his Khâká troops in two parallel lines, the march commenced with the beating of nagáras. The Ghúlám Khâna troops were in advance, and I this day accompanied them. We passed easterly down the valley, which a little below Killa Sir Sang narrows for some distance, and again expands, when we found several castles and kishláks, the largest of the former being Killa Khwoja. We had reached the foot of the Kotal Nâl-patch, or the horse-shoe breaking pass, leading



to the Dasht Saféd, and were preparing to ascend, when people, sent by the khân, called us back, and we found the halting-place was Killa Khwoja.

The khân, before dismounting proceeded with a large party down the valley, which below the parallel of the kotal contracts into a defile, for the purpose of viewing the remains of an ancient fortress called Killa Kâfr, the infidel's fort. They were very imposing, and from the bulk of the stones employed in their construction excited much wonder. At the extremity of this darra is a castle, whether ancient or modern I know not, called Darband, a contraction of Dara-band, the band, or key of the valley; and east of it is another, called Baiánír. In this short march our route traced the northern side of the vale of Séghân, and we passed a village of caves, with an ancient tower on the eminence, in which they were excavated. This evening we fired from our gun several rounds, as well to celebrate our arrival on new territory, as to let the Tatars know we had come. Killa Khwoja, with another castle, was garrisoned with the khân's troops, and the castle of a chief, Faquí Beg, who had been long obnoxious to Máhoméd Ali Beg, and who was related to the Dasht Saféd chiefs, was ordered to be demolished. The wood found there was used as fuel by the army. Faquí Beg was despatched, with his family, to Bámiân, the khân promising to provide for him there.

The day after our arrival at Killa Khwoja snow fell; and the khân invited me to take noon's repast with him in his kergha, or felt-covered tent. Here were present the khân, his náib Sádádín, Múlla Jân Máhoméd, Mír Yezdânbaksh, Mír Zaffer of Kâlú, and myself. On my account the khân principally discoursed of Feringhís, and he astonished his Hazára guests by his accounts of their insáf, or equity. He related the history of Amír Khân (the freebooter of Tonk), and so curiously, that I shall repeat the substance of it. "Amír Khân had one hundred and twenty thousand men, and was flying before twelve thousand Feringhís, when the latter sent to him, offering as much artillery as he needed and a crore of rupees, if he would but stand and give battle. Amír Khân received artillery and a crore of rupees, gave battle, and was defeated, with the loss of twenty-seven thousand men. The Feringhís lost six thousand men. Amír Khân, reflecting on the diminished force of the Feringhís, again ventured to engage, and suffered defeat, with the loss of twelve thousand men; his opponents lost three thousand men. Amír Khân having still nearly eighty thousand men, judged it concerned his honour not to suffer so small a force as three thousand to escape, and surrounded it; but he found that in the night the Feringhís had eluded his vigilance, and learning that they had summoned another kâmpú of twelve thousand men to their assistance, he shift-

ed his quarters to another part of the country. Ultimately, when the Feringhís concluded a treaty with him, knowing him to be an able, useful man, they gave him an allowance of fifteen lákhs of rupees for his háram, placing only one injunction upon him, that he was never to turn his eyes towards the Afgháns." The khán observed, that the Sirdár Máhoméd Azem Khán, then living, upon hearing the terms of the treaty, placed his turban on the ground before him, and prayed to heaven that he might one day become the ghúlám (slave) of the Feringhís. The khán, in the course of this day's conversation remarked, that the gross revenue of Kábal, Ghazní, Jelálabad, Bámián, and Bísút, for the year past, 1831, 1832, was fifteen lákhs. Taghow, Dhost, and Khúram, being rebellious, not included. Mír Yezdánbaksh spoke very little, continually passing his beads between his fingers, uttering indistinct ejaculations, with his eyes averted upwards. As usual with him, he sat bare-headed. The mobá, or cholera morbus, which desolated Kábal in 1827, being alluded to, the mír took occasion to state his disbelief in the remedies of physicians, and, observing that no one case of mobá occurred in Bísút, asked, What has disease to do with men who live upon barley-bread and butter-milk? The khán cited the case of a portly old physician, who was with the camp that year in Zúrmat, and who one day in his tent affected to ridicule the mobá, saying, if every one like me



anointed his body with oil, he would have no reason to fear the mobá. With the words in his mouth, said the khân, he left my tent, and a very short time after I heard that the fat old gentleman with his oiled body was dead !

On the following day, in the afternoon, the nagára beat to arms ; the khân having determined upon making a reconnoissance on the Dasht Saféd. Mír Yezdânbaksh accompanied him, with about fifty horse only. The troops ascended the Kotal Nâl-patch, rather long, but not difficult, and at the summit were in view three of the Tâtar castles, with their gardens. The khân halted the Ghúlâm Khâna troops midway up the kotal, saying he did not wish to fatigue them. The Tâtars soon descried the troops, and their horsemen issued from the castles and took position on the plain, but again re-entered them. Persons therefrom were observed to send them back. The khân used his spyglass, and speculated on their numbers. During the few minutes he remained on the plain he once inquired, "Where is Mír Yezdânbaksh ?" and looking around, and observing him to be attended by Dâoud Máhoméd Khân and his party, remarked "All is well ; he is amusing himself with Dâoud Máhoméd." The khân and troops rejoined the camp, it being yet daylight. On arrival he despatched Saiyad Máhoméd Khân with personal communications for Máhoméd Alí Beg at Káhmerd.

In the morning the khân summoned to his Ker-



gah his náib Sádadin and Mír Yezdânbaksh. They having arrived, he then sent for Mír Abbás, brother to Mír Yezdânbaksh, and others of his relatives, and officers, with the two chiefs of Déh Zanghí, who came supposing Mír Yezdânbaksh required their attendance, as they were told. The khân, when his brother Dáoud Máhoméd Khân entered the Kergah, followed by a large party of armed Afghâns, angrily asked Mír Yezdânbaksh why he had thrown defeat among his troops, and occasioned a triumph to the Tá-tars? The mír, aware of his critical situation, said, "Khân, place me in front and see what I will do with the Tá-tars." The khân spoke abusively in Pash-to, arose, and ordered the seizure of the mír and his attendants. This was effected without resistance, as those admitted within the Kergah were few, the others of the Hazáras summoned standing without, and their detention was an easy matter. The nagára sounded immediately to arms, and Ghúlám Hákamzâda was despatched to plunder the mír's tent. The khân having effected this coup, stood without his tent in a state of manifest surprise and anxiety. The presence of two thousand Hazára horse might also give him uneasiness, but fortune, as if favouring his designs, had divided this force into three bodies, one with the mír and the Afghân camp, and the two others in villages of Samuches, north of the valley, which they had occupied on the fall of snow. The khân had no cause for apprehension from the Hazáras; the poor fellows were para-

lyzed by the seizure of their chiefs, and had no other thought but to provide each for his individual safety. The portion with the camp, mounting as soon as possible, some passed down the valley of Séghân, while others ascended the hills south of the valley, and made for Gandak. Those in the Samuches scrambled up the hills behind their position, which were absolutely impracticable to the Afghân horses, and some made for the Dasht Saféd, while others traversed the Dasht Ghazzak between Séghân and Kâhmerd, and made for Yek Auleng. As soon as the seizure of Mír Yezdânbaksh was known the Khâka troops hastened to despoil the Hazâras, and obtained a great number of horses, arms, and accoutrements. The pursuit of the fugitives was kept up principally by the attendants upon the horses, and such was the panic among the former that one of the latter would be seen returning with two or even three horses, and as many swords and matchlocks. It was afflicting to behold the unfortunate Hazâras made captives, and in the midst of snow and inclement weather reduced to a state of nudity by their merciless tyrants; even the brothers and officers of Mír Yezdânbaksh were not spared, and the mír himself was the only person the khân judged fit, by peremptory order, to command to be respected as to clothing, and from his girdle the knife was taken by those who seized him. A son of Mír Máhoméd Shâh and nephew to Mír Yezdânbaksh, one of my hospitable enter-

tainers at Kerghú, as noted in my third march, was among the sufferers, and was dragged past me by three or four Afghâns, who called him their prisoner, shivering, barefooted, and without any other covering than an old pair of perjâmas (trowsers), which his despoilers, in their humanity, had bestowed upon him. I said, "Mír, what has happened to you?" He replied, "Bad roz amed," or an unlucky day has come. He was taken before the khân, who, aware that his father, Mír Máhoméd Shâh, was inimical to his brother, Mír Yezdânbaksh, ordered clothing to be given to him, and his horses and arms, of some value, to be returned. These orders were, in part, complied with, and the next day I found him only wanting a pair of shoes, with which I was able to supply him. The only precautionary measures taken by the khân on seizing the Hazára chiefs, were the despatch of his two brothers, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân and Khân Máhoméd Khân, to the base of the Kotal Nâl-patch, rather to anticipate a movement on the part of the Tátars than to prevent the flight of the Hazáras in that direction, and the sending a few horsemen to the Killa Sir Sang, to instruct the garrison of what had happened. It now became known that Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, Paghmâní, who had been commissioned the preceding night to Máhoméd Alí Beg with a verbal communication, was sent to announce the intended seizure of the Hazára chiefs on the next morning. The khân



had also sent intimation of his designs to his agents at Bámián, and one of them, Walí, a chillam-ber-dár, was employed to secure the persons of Alladád Khân Moghal, and others who were known to be of the party of Mír Yezdânbaksh. This he effected by summoning them to the castle of Ak Robát, on the pretext that the khân had sent for them, and on their arrival he made them prisoners.

Immediately after the seizure of Mír Yezdânbaksh I joined the khân, standing without his ker-gah, now become a prison. Náib Sádádín, his agent in all transactions with the mír, was astounded, and said, in Pashto, "Khân, se kawí?" or, khân, what have you done? The khân replied, in Persian, "Say nothing; what is done, is done." After standing some time, and observing the departure of the Hazáras, he repaired to the tent of Máhoméd Bâgher Khân, Morád Khâni, of the Ghúlám Khâna troops. These men being Shías, and intimately connected with Mír Yezdânbaksh by political and religious ties, could not but be much incensed at the flagrant act just committed. To them the khân sought to justify himself, by asserting, that the seizure of Mír Yezdânbaksh was a measure pressed upon him by the Sirdár Dost Máhoméd Khân when in Tagow; that he had repeatedly written to him since he left Kâbal to seize the mír; that hitherto he had refrained from doing so, nor would he now have obeyed these instructions had not Mír Yezdânbaksh treacherously con-



certed a plan with the Tatars, by which they were to engage the khân's troops in front, while he was to pillage the camp, and destroy those who remained in it. In confirmation of this charge he read a letter, that he asserted had been taken from a messenger sent by the mîr to the Tatars. I was not present at the reading of this letter, which was, moreover, known to be a forgery, and written by Ghúlám Hákamzâda at the khân's suggestion; but the Ghúlám Khâna officers afterwards assured me that it was far from cleverly done, for there was nothing in it to warrant suspicion, even in the khân's mind.

After remaining with the Ghúlám Khâna until after mid-day, orders to march were issued, and the troops, in order of battle, retrograded to their former position near Killa Sir Sang. The khân with his line marched first, after him the Ghúlám Khâna horse, and behind them the captives, while Dáoud Máhoméd Khân and Khân Máhoméd Khân brought up the rear. The prisoners were about twenty in number, and this day mounted on horses, their arms secured behind them by ropes at their elbow joints, while other ropes were fixed round their necks, with the ends hanging down to be taken hold of by the persons having immediate charge of each of them. The unfortunate men were preceded by Múlla Shahábadín and the khân's nephew. I saw Mîr Yezdánbaksh when he left the kergah to mount his horse; he raised his

dejected head, cast a momentary look around, and again dropped it. I believe there were few in camp but commiserated his case; to behold him who in the morning was the superior lord of Bísút, who commanded a numerous force, and held arbitrary power over many thousand dependent human beings, in the space of an instant reduced to the powerless situation of a captive in bonds, would occasion feelings of consternation, as an exemplification of the ordinary vicissitudes of life; but when the mír's frank and generous character, the many services he had rendered the khân, and, above all, the perfidious circumstances of his seizure were considered, I believe there was not a bosom in the Afghân camp that glowed not with indignation, and such as dared to express their feelings consigned to execration the contrivers and perpetrators of so infamous a deed. I came up on this march with the Ghúlám Khâna troops; and Máhommed Jaffar Khân, Morád Khâní, significantly asked, "Dídí?" or, have you seen? on replying affirmatively, he rejoined "By such perjuries and atrocities the Afghâns have lost their political power and influence."

During the past night I learned that the Khâka troops, by the khân's orders, had been under arms, and that he himself had sat up in his tent without taking sleep, his musicians, until near morning, playing and singing before him. When he dismissed these, he inquired if there were any move-

ments among the Hazáras, and observed to one of his péshkidmats, that if Mír Yezdánbaksh fly, "bakht," or fortune, is on his side ; if he remain until morn, it is on mine.

It was subsequently ascertained that the Hazára chief, yielding to the unanimous and urgent entreaties of his followers to decamp, had ordered his horses to be saddled ; that he had left his tent, and actually placed one of his feet in the stirrup, preparing to mount, when he withdrew it, observing, that he was a Kohistání, or man of the hills, that he had attached himself to the khân by oaths, by which he was resolved to stand even were the consequences fatal to him. Having thus spoken, he returned to his tent, and the Hazáras, unsaddling their horses, returned to their quarters.

I must confess, I was confounded at the khân's procedure. I had never before witnessed the commission of so flagrant an enormity ; and, aware of his secret designs, could not conceive why he preferred the alliance of Máhomed Alí Beg to that of so powerful a chief as Mír Yezdánbaksh. I could not for a moment credit the treacherous intentions imputed to the latter, who, had he been faithless or insincere, could easily have destroyed the khân and his army when on the frontiers of Búrjehgai. The surprise and sorrow of the khân's náib, Sádadín, was a convincing testimony also of the injustice of the charge fixed upon the mír. The letter produced by the khân was known to



be forged ; and on the mír's person at the time of seizure was found a letter addressed to his dependants at Kârzâr, directing them to make all due preparations for the entertainment of the khân on his return ; and his nazir, Mír Alí Khân, had been deputed to Kâbal to purchase ten kharwârs of rice for the festive occasion contemplated. It appeared to me also a heinous refinement of cruelty in keeping up good appearances with the mír until he had led him into the country of his avowed and unprincipled enemy, and by his seizure there affording the Tâjik chief a gratuitous triumph, more galling to the generous mind of his victim than the loss of power and fortune. An accession of territory at the expense of the Tâtar chiefs of the Dasht Saféd, was evidently an object with the khân, and he may have expected that by the Hazâra chief's influence with them he might have been enabled to secure their persons, after which the confiscation of their estates was an easy matter. But, being baffled by the firmness of the Tâtar chiefs, and finding that Râhma-tûlah Beg of Kâhmerd would not voluntarily surrender his country, and was too wary to place himself in his power, he, regardless of every tie of friendship and moral obligation, seized the mír, expecting to procure a large sum for his ransom, which might enable him to subsist his troops during the winter at Bâmíân. Could I venture to fathom the original intentions of the khân, he



had contemplated to pass the winter at Káhmerd, where he would probably have subsisted his troops; and whence, in concert with the Uzbek chief of Khúlm, decidedly hostile to Máhoméd Morád Beg of Kúndúz, he might have been enabled to have acted in a very different mode from that to which necessity afterwards compelled him. As it was, the obstinacy of Ráhmatúlah Beg had foiled him,—he could not subsist at Séghân; Máhoméd Alí Beg had no property worth the seizure, and he had no resource but to retrograde to Bámiân; and the question was, how to subsist himself there. The revenue from the soil of Bámiân, with its districts, amounts to fifteen thousand kharwárs of grain, whether wheat, barley, or múshúng (pea). This had been exhausted by previous receipts and requisitions while in Bísút, and even at this place. The premature and unusually severe winter had also materially affected the year's produce, and heaps of untrodden wheat were yet lying rotting under snow. That the khân possessed eminent ability in meeting the exigencies of his situation may be conceived, although it was lamentable to reflect upon the unhallowed means employed.

At Killa Sir Sang on the next day we were joined by Máhoméd Alí Beg and Karra Kúlí Khân, on the part of Réhimdád Khân. They reported the capture of four castles of Ráhmatúlah Beg, who still held two, the more important, and refused to wait upon the khân. A negotiation had been

carried on with him, and it had been agreed, under the plausible pretext of preventing the effusion of Mússulmání blood, to refer matters to Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg. Ráhmátúlah's castles had not been taken without bloodshed; two or three men on the part of Réhimdád Khán had been slain, and several had been wounded. To attend upon these the khán despatched his surgeon to Káhmerd, giving him ten rupees. On this occasion Nasrúlah Khán, the chief of Ajer, was introduced to the khán, and proffered his submission. He was courteously received, and a khelat was bestowed on him. He was a young man, of ordinary appearance and capacity, and inherited from his fathers the hill fort of Ajer, some miles to the west of Káhmerd, with two dependent castles.

The khán paid a visit to Mír Yezdânbaksh at this place, offering him terms, by acceding to which he should be released. These were, the payment of twenty thousand rupees, in money or value, the surrender of the castle of Kârzár, and two or three others on the line of road from Bámíân to Kábal, his engagement not to levy duty from kâfilas, and the delivery of adequate hostages for the performance of his obligations.

Máhoméd Ali Beg unequivocally pressed upon the khán the necessity for the mír's execution, alleging, that if released neither one nor the other would be able to move in these countries. Máhoméd Ali Beg had become proportionately con-

fidant on the seizure of his adversary, and he had probably turned to good account the dispersion of the Hazára force, and recompensed himself for the ten or twelve Hazára slaves he had formerly set at liberty. The route of many of the fugitives must have been over the Dasht Ghazzak, between Káhmerd and Séghân, where he, informed of the intended act, would have been ready to intercept them. Subsequently Mír Yezdânbaksh affirmed that three hundred and ten were missing; but I know not whether this number referred to the whole force or to that under his own orders. Many of these may have perished from cold, but the greater number were probably kidnapped.

Mír Yezdânbaksh was still lodged in the khân's kergah, and the Hindústâní soldiers formed his guard. It was decided to retire to Bámiân. The khân had but three pairs of leg-irons with him, but his Tájik ally cheerfully furnished him with six other pairs from his own stores, and now Mír Yezdânbaksh and the principal captives had their feet bound in fetters. Melted lead was poured into the locks, which secured them, to effectually prevent their being opened.

Another fall of snow occurred at Séghân; and one morning, a little before the break of day, the heavens displayed a beautiful appearance, from the descent of numberless of those meteors called falling stars; some of the globes were of large size and of amazing brilliancy. They pervaded the whole



extent of the visible firmament, and continued to be discernible long after the light of day dawned. The phenomena, I afterwards found, were in like manner observed at Kâbal, and I have since learned, on the banks of the Jalém in the Panjâb. Their appearance gave rise to much speculation in camp; every one considered them portentous of some great event, which each felt at liberty to prognosticate after his own manner.

We now started on our return to Bámíân. The khân preceded the troops, with a few followers, Múlla Shahíbadán and the Khânzâdas, Múlla Jân Máhomed, and myself. We followed the valley until we arrived at the spot called Noh Régh, where we had before encamped. We now found it covered with snow, but it was determined to halt for the convenience of procuring supplies from the contiguous castles. At the point where the narrow valley expands into the open space of Noh Régh the khân and Múlla Jân Máhomed seated themselves on a rock overhanging the line of road; and his purpose in marching before the troops was soon made evident. The métars, troopers, and indeed all who arrived, were stopped and examined as to their possession of Hazára property. The horses, weapons, &c. were taken account of by Múlla Jân Máhomed and Múlla Shahíbadán, with the names of the persons possessing them. The khân did not take the articles from the men, but observed, he should consult with his chiefs as to the disposal



of the spoil; he was, perhaps, also willing, by an enumeration of the trophies, to estimate the extent of his dishonest and bloodless victory. I had taken position on the eminences east of the valley, which were free from snow, and as the troops successively arrived observed with regret the unfortunate Mír Yezdânbaksh, with Mír Abbâs his brother, the two Dêh Zanghî chiefs, and other captives, approach, in charge of Dost Máhoméd Khân, the khân's brother, manacled, and seated on pairs of chests, carried by yabús (ponies). It became manifest that the mír's doom was decided upon, for after exposing him to so much indignity release was out of the question. As the tents had not arrived, and snow covered the ground, Dost Máhoméd Khân brought his prisoners near the spot where I was sitting, where they continued until the ground designed for the tents was cleared, when, a fire being kindled, the mír in fetters walked thither. He sat over the fire, warming his hands, apparently unconcerned, amid snow and severe cold, bare-headed.

We continued our march up the now more equal and open valley, and crossed the pass of Ak Robát, which, although covered with snow, did not impede us, and, fortunately, the wind was little more than perceptible. We traversed the valley of Ak Robát, and passing the slight kotal to the east, entered the inferior valley before noted, as containing chaman, which I now descended, having before seen the

road to the right over the elevated country. We soon gained a narrow valley, which, after some distance, joins that stretching from Ak Robát, whose rivulet we had now with us. Our road was tolerably good, and as we descended the valley a considerable rivulet fell into it from the west, and again lower down received also from the west a still more considerable stream; these united waters form one of the branches of the Bámiân river, and flow through Súrkhdar. Just before reaching this place we passed a small grove of trees, a zíarat. From Súrkhdar we pushed forwards to Bámiân, where we arrived before nightfall. The khân on arrival took up quarters at a castle, where on marching for Séghân he had left his wives brought from Kábal; and myself, with Sirkerder Kamber, the physician Iddaitúlâh, and his son, pitched a tent in a hollow under its southern walls. The khân informed the inhabitants of Bámiân, assembled to greet his return, that if perfectly agreeable to themselves, he would be their guest for ten days, it being necessary to settle his affairs with Mír Yezdânbaksh and others.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Imposition of fines.—Saiyadabád.—Alladád Khán.—Evacuation of Saiyadabád.—Its solidity and dimensions.—Tradition.—Antiquity.—Repaired by Mirza Máhoméd Ali.—Siege by Kíllich Ali Beg.—Death of Mirza Máhoméd Ali.—Independence of Alladád Khán.—The khán's piety.—Provender.—Quarters.—Letters of Mir Yezdánbaksh.—Release of Máhoméd Gúl.—His vows.—Plunder of party from Kábal.—Distress in camp.—Uneasiness of Ghúlám Khána troops.—Despair of inhabitants at Bámián.—Orders for the execution of Mir Yezdánbaksh.—The mír informed of them.—His prayers.—His execution.—His firmness admired.—Message from Máhoméd Morád Beg.—Departure of Ghúlám Khána troops.—Their difficulties at Kárzár.—Terms of passage.—Loss of lives and accidents.—Arrivals from Káhmér.—Máhoméd Ali Beg's suggestion.—Advice of Loháni merchants.—The khán extorts money from them.—The khán's brothers obtain permission to depart.—Mine also received.—Departure from Bámián.—Uncertainty as to route.—Reach Ahinghar.—Kotal Shúter Girdan.—Morí.—Difficult road.—Kálú.—Mihmán Khána.—My repulse.—Passage of rivulet.—Good quarters.—Khán's letter.—Bridle purloined.—Tophí.—Sháhghássi Oméd.—Quarters.—Pleasant evening.—Bridle restored.—Companions.—March to Bitchílik.—Kotal of Irák.—Violent winds.—Castles of Irák.—Consternation of people.—Our reception.—Conduct of my companions.—The khán's agent and his instructions.—Robbery of a Hindú.—Intentions of my companions.—Their thefts.—Dexterity.—Detection.—Búbúlák.—Desertion of guide.—Bitchílik.—Castle of Saiyad Sháh Abbás.—Shékh Alis refuse a passage.—Proceed to Shibr.—Reception.—Farther thefts prevented.—Council.—Independence of Hazáras.—Return to Búbúlák.—Regain Bámián.

THE khân having been accepted as a guest by the good people of Bámiân, his first step was to settle the amount of jirim, or fine, on such individuals as were obnoxious to him, that is, on such as had property that he might appropriate. The greater part of these had been made prisoners at Ak Robát, as before noted, through the dexterity of Walí, the chillam-berdár. The amount obtained by jirim was not less than thirty thousand rupees, although received in effects, as carpets, felts, woollens, copper utensils, lead, and cattle of various kinds. Their connexion with Mír Yezdânbaksh was the crime imputed to them; and the khân assumed great credit to himself with most of them, for having re-directed them into the path of Islâm, from which they had deviated by associating themselves with Shíás and infidels. Another of the khân's immediate objects was to obtain possession of the castle of Saiyadabád, belonging to Alladád Khân, Moghal, who had laid up in it a vast quantity of supplies. The Moghal was a prisoner, and consented to pay his fine, but was unwilling to surrender his castle; on which the khân sent for his elephant, and ordered him to be trampled under his feet. Alladád now craved for mercy, which, through the mediation of the Ghúlám Khâna chiefs, was conceded. The following morning the inhabitants of the castle evacuated their dwelling, being permitted to carry away their grain and effects, excepting forage and fuel. The khân, with five or



six attendants, and myself, rode to survey the new acquisition. We crossed the river of Bámiân, and skirting the southern face of the detached eminence, on which stands the ruined citadel of Ghúlghúleh, ascended a level space, on which is the castle of Saiyadabád. It was a dilapidated, but truly imposing ancient castle, constructed of burnt bricks. We entered it by a modern gateway on the south; the original entrance was an arched one to the west, of very large dimensions, which had been long since closed up. The walls were of immense solidity, while the burnt bricks employed in their structure were of surprising size. The apartments were ranged in lines with the walls, leaving a small area in the centre. Those of the ground-floor were twenty-five to thirty feet in height, and they had above them others equally lofty and capacious. The whole of them had been originally covered with domes,—a construction adopted in the old city of Ghúlghúleh,—but these have nearly all yielded to the attacks of time, and at present the roofs are flat, and supported on rafters. West of the castle is a large walled enclosure, called the Serai, having on the west a line of domed buildings, but modern; near them are the remains of the old masjít belonging to the castle, exhibiting the same style of solid architecture. In the enclosure is a well, also a recent addition. The castle of Saiyadabád is called, in the traditions of the country, Killa Dokhtar, the daughter's castle, having been, as it is said, at

the period of the reduction of Ghúlghúleh, the residence of a princess, the daughter of its sovereign, who married the besieging chief, and betrayed her father by disclosing the hidden channels through which water was conveyed to the citadel. The castle, without ascribing much credit to tradition, was undoubtedly one of the most prominent structures of the old city of Ghúlghúleh, but manifesting a Máhomedan origin, and probably built under the sway of the Caliphs. Ghúlghúleh, we know from authentic history was destroyed by Jenghiz Khân in 1220, A. D. and afforded some time a refuge to Jelíladán, the expelled Shâh of Khwârizm. About two hundred yards from it, on the north-east, are other buildings referrible to the same era. It would appear to have remained in an uninhabitable state until about thirty years since, when a governor of Bámíân, Mírza Máhomed Alí, affecting a kind of semi-independence, covered in the exposed dwellings, built the serai, and sank the well. In it he endured a twelve month's siege by Killich Alí Beg of Balkh, who ultimately decamped without effecting the reduction of the fortress. Since that time, or soon after, Mírza Máhomed Alí retired to Zohák, which he intended to repair, and to place in a state of defence, and there being proclaimed a traitor he was slain by the inhabitants of Bámíân. Since the fall of the mírza the castle of Saiyadabád had been held by Alladád Khân, Moghal, and he, confiding in the

strength of his walls, which cannot be destroyed by any means at command of the governors of Bámián, lived perfectly independent of them, refused to pay the usual third of the produce of his land, and even occasionally attacked his neighbours. He and his castle had now fallen beneath the ascendancy of Hâjî Khân's stars, and after a survey of the building, its new possessor decided on occupying it himself, and sent orders for the expedition thither of his wives and followers. In the castle, where he had hitherto resided were left the Hazára prisoners, under the charge of his brother, Dost Máhoméd Khân, and the Hindústání soldiers. The khân repaired to a modern masjít at the entrance of the castle, and, with a Korân in his hands, implored the favour of heaven on his new conquest. The ejection of about eighty families in the midst of winter, and depriving them of fuel, and provender for their cattle, turning a deaf ear to the prayers of the aged women of the castle, who appeared before him, each with a Korân in her hands, exhorting him to look in the face of God, and be merciful,—were perhaps Mússulmání actions ; but it was necessary in the midst of the perpetration of crime to preserve religious appearances, and to show his followers that whatever might be done from necessity, he was still a true and devout Mússulmán. Within the castle were large quantities of clover-hay, wheat-chaff, chelmer, and wood. Without the former the khân might have been em-



barrassed as to the subsistence of his horses. I selected an apartment on the ground-floor, which was large and convenient; a stable was adjoining, and there were two or three recesses in it, full of chaff, wood, and chelmer, and I admitted no companions but the old physician Iddaitúlâh, and his son. The whole of the khân's horses were brought to Saiyadabâd: the most valuable were housed within the castle, and the remainder were picketed in the adjacent serai. The khân's brothers, Dâoud Máhoméd Khân and Khân Máhoméd Khân, had taken up quarters in the caves of Bámiân; the Khâka troops had sheltered themselves in the several castles, and the Ghúlâm Khâna troops only remained encamped in the snow.

We shall now advert to the affairs of the Hazárajât. The seizure of Mír Yezdânbaksh had produced an universal sensation of indignation among the Hazáras; and Mír Báz Alí had repaired to Kârzâr to concert measures with his friends there for resistance to Hâjî Khân. The letters of Mír Yezdânbaksh to his adherents were unattended to, and the replies were full of terms of defiance to the khân. Whether the mír was sincere in wishing his letters to be complied with I know not; he said he was; and at his instance, seconded by the entreaties of Náib Sâdadín, who, to do him justice, was ever anxious to be serviceable to his unfortunate friend, Máhoméd Gúl, one of his confidential servants and a prisoner, was released and despatched to Kârzâr,



that he might, by personal explanation, induce the people there to surrender the castle and the hostages required, and procure the release of Mír Yezdânbaksh. The khân was not pleased to allow Máhoméd Gúl to depart, and Mír Máhoméd Shâh, brother to Mír Yezdânbaksh, now, with the khân, protested against it. He however went, making a thousand vows of fidelity to the khân, and imprecating the vengeance of heaven on his head if he proved false. On arrival at Kârzâr he but confirmed the assembled Hazâras in their determination to hold it. The winter seeming to allow no military operations to be carried on against Kârzâr, Mír Bâz Alí returned to his home, writing a letter, of ambiguous tendency, to the khân. The principal men at Kârzâr were, Názir Mír Alí and one Kâsim; the former had been sent to Kâbal to purchase rice, and articles for the entertainment of the khân on his expected return; and the latter had been left at Kârzâr by the mír, to attend to the affairs of Bísút during his absence. They were now joined by Máhoméd Gúl. A party of four individuals from Kâbal, three Kohistânís and one native of Kâbal, driving asses laden with fruit, and articles to sell in camp, unconscious of what had happened at Séghân, fell into the power of the Hazâras near Kârzâr. The three Kohistânís, making resistance, were killed, and the Kâbalí was brought to the castle, where his life was spared, and he was set at liberty, but in a state of nudity.

As the communication between Kâbal and Bámiân was now cut off, there were many reduced to much inconvenience and distress, and a good deal of discontent existed among such as did not like the khân entertain the idea of wintering at Bámiân. The Ghúlám Khâna troops were very uneasy, and for some time past had been continually soliciting rúksat, or leave to depart; but the khân had hitherto contrived to delay giving it. To their ordinary capacities the extraordinary measures of the khân were perfectly incomprehensible. Surmises as to his ultimate intentions were also heard. The khân's brothers did not approve of his stay at Bámiân. The natives of Bámiân were nearly reduced to despair by the abstraction of their means of subsistence for the supply of the troops; so awful a visitation had never before fallen on them. The mysterious and absolute khân was not to be resisted; but they had a slender consolation in the reflection that no one had ever, with impunity, wantonly tyrannized over Bámiân, under the protection of its twelve thousand walís (saints).

Matters remained in this perplexed state until the eighth Rajáb, when the khân repaired to the castle where Mír Yezdânbaksh was confined, and after a secret conference with his brothers, Dáoud Máhoméd Khân and Khán Máhoméd Khân, ordered the execution of the mír, as he said, from necessity. He inquired of Múlla Shahábadín if the destruction of Mír Yezdânbaksh was justifiable

by the laws of the Korân; who replied, that it was absolutely indispensable; adding, that it was better that death should be inflicted by the hands of his own kinsmen.

A péshkidmat Máhoméd Khân repaired to the mír, and told him to rise, as he was wanted without. The mír asked, if it was intended to kill him? Máhoméd Khân replied, that such were the orders. On which he immediately arose, and followed the messenger. He was led to the border of a canal of irrigation under the castle wall, where he sat down until the preparations were completed. He begged as a favour that his hands might be untied, that he might repeat two rikáts of prayer. It was refused. He therefore, as a devotional act, was compelled to be satisfied with passing the beads of his tusbíh, or rosary, between his fingers, and making low ejaculations. The preparations being slow,—a controversy having arisen among those concerned whether a thin or thick rope was preferable, strangling having been the mode of death ordered,—the mír expressed his hope that he should not be made to suffer any lingering torment, and wished that with swords they would strike directly at his neck. A thick rope had been decided upon. The same péshkidmat asked the mír if he had anything to say. He looked around for a moment, and observed, “No; what have I to say? They must all follow me, “ráh am ín ast,” or, the road is this. The rope being fixed, the mír was led



into the hollow south of the castle, and six kinsmen were stationed, three at each end of the rope; among these was his brother, Mír Abbás, and two sons of the Vakíl Saifúlah. The former, being a prisoner, was compelled to assist, and the two latter were afforded an opportunity to avenge the death of their father slain by the mír. His corpse was thrown across a yabú, and instantly despatched to Kârzâr. Thus fell Mír Yezdânbaksh, a victim to Afghân perfidy and dissimulation. His firmness in meeting death was admired even by his executioners; and it was observed that in lieu of evincing any signs of anxiety or dejection his countenance was more ruddy than usual. It was also discovered that he had been slain on an excellent day and time, as the month Rajáb was the best of all months for a Mússulmán to die in, and the Roz Júma the best of all days.

The slaughter of their chief did not cause his adherents at Kârzâr immediately to surrender the castles, as perhaps the khân had hoped; but soon afterwards letters arrived with ambiguous offers, which Mír Zâffer of Kalú pronounced false. Karra Kúlí Khân, who had been despatched to Kúndúz, now returned, bringing with him an agent of Máhommed Morád Beg, with a message to the following purport. "If the khân be my elder in age, he is my father, if my equal, my brother, and if my younger, my son." The khân now resolved to despatch a formal embassy to Kúndúz, and Ghulám



Hâkamzâda was selected, and to him were given as offerings to the Uzbek chief most of the presents brought from Sind by Mulla Jân Mâhomed.

The Ghûlâm Khâna troops became clamorous for their rûksat, or dismissal; they had no idea of finding themselves isolated among Uzbeks; if they remained, a possible circumstance; and at length, somewhat angrily, the khân consented to their departure. They were contented to brave the rigours of a wintry passage through Bísút, and reckoned, by their influence with the Hazáras, on procuring a passage by the castle of Kârzár. A kâfila which had arrived from Bokhára placed themselves under their protection. The Rikas, at variance with the rest of the Ghûlâm Khâna troops, and being also Súnís, with Saiyad Mâhomed Khân, Paghmání, remained. The khân on dismissal of these troops gave them a barât, or order for three days' supplies, on Kâlú. Many were desirous to accompany the Ghûlâm Khâna troops, but the khân cajoled them with the promise of going himself to Kâbal in a few days, when the castle of Kârzár should surrender. The Ghûlâm Khâna troops on reaching Kârzár were detained three days under its walls, and had to endure all the horrors of an unusually intense cold, rendered still more terrific and fatal by a powerful shâmal wind, amid snow breast-high, and without fuel. The Hazáras assembled, and although a few shots were fired, no one suffered from them. Mâhomed Bâgher Khân, Mâhomed

Jáffar Khân, Mír Ali Khân, and two or three other chiefs, were only admitted within the castle, and at first were made prisoners for some hours, but finally an arrangement was concluded, by which ten tomâns were given for a free passage, and hostages were delivered as pledges that no violence should be offered to the Hazâra peasantry between Kârzâr and Sir Chishma. Moreover, all the horses, arms, accoutrements, and clothing, spoil of the Hazâras, which were easily recognised, were taken from all who had them in possession. The terms of this treaty complied with, the Ghúlâm Khâna troops proceeded through Bísút, having no other antagonist than the cold, itself a formidable one. Forty-five individuals of the party perished; and of those who reached Kâbal great numbers had to deplore the loss of toes and fingers, many of their hands and feet entirely. The destruction of cattle was also immense, and the camels particularly suffered.

Réhimdád Khân, with Máhoméd Ali Beg, and the young chief of Ajer, about this time arrived from Káhmerd, a reference respecting that district having been made to Máhoméd Morád Beg. Máhoméd Ali Beg strove to dissuade the khân from remaining the winter at Bámiân, a purpose which he now avowed. With respect to Kârzâr he observed, that the khân did only half measures. On the seizure of Mír Yezdânbaksh he ought to have slain him, and sent a force in chapow upon the castle. As it was, he suggested that the úlús force

of Bámíân should be called out, scaling ladders prepared, and volunteered, in conjunction with Réhimdád Khân, to reduce the fortress by assault. These measures were not adopted.

Another kâfila arrived from Bokhára; with it were two or three Lohání merchants. These had sufficient penetration to conjecture the khân's designs, and recommended him, in course of conversation, not to return to Kábal, where he would be degraded, but to repair to Kúndúz, where his honours would be increased. Two or three days after the khân confined those merchants, demanding from them the loan of one thousand tillahs (gold coin) of Bokhára. They refused, and fasted a day or two, vowing they would starve themselves to death; the craving of hunger becoming intolerable, they tendered five hundred tillahs, which the khân accepted, and released them. The tillah of Bokhara is in value about seven rupees of Kábal, so that the khân profited by the merchants three thousand five hundred rupees.

Dáoud Máhoméd Khân, the khân's brother, had for some time been at Irák, where he had occupied the castle, and confiscated the property of Saiyad Shâh Máhoméd, one of the individuals on whom a fine of three thousand rupees had been imposed. He now came to Bámíân, and with his brother, Khân Máhoméd Khân, signified to the khân that they should proceed to Kábal. He used every argument to dissuade them, but ineffectually, and they



told him that they were servants of Dost Máhommed Khân, and not of himself. Rúksat was therefore given to them and to the Rikas, and Saiyad Máhommed Khân, Paghmání, with many others, to accompany them. I had long been very much distressed, and refrained from accompanying the Ghúlám Khána troops, only because they proceeded a little against the khân's pleasure, but now that his brothers had obtained rúksat, I asked mine, which was of course granted. The khân promised to place me under protection of his brothers, but did not, and as they had left Bámiân I followed them, accompanied by one Barkat, a young man of the Bálla Hissár Kábal, who had two horses to convey thither, and who engaged for a trifling sum to attend me and my horse on the road, and to place my luggage on one of his horses, so that I and my animal might be unencumbered. My object was now to reach Kábal, but how or by what road no one knew; the two brothers of the khân, and Saiyad Máhommed Khân, Paghmání, had vowed not to return to Bámiân—but it still remained to decide in what mode to reach Kábal. As Afgháns, they could not expect so easily as the Ghúlám Khána troops, to pass the castle of Kârzár; however, there seemed a general resolution, if compelled thereto, to force a passage by the castle, and to fight their way through Bísút. On the other hand, Saiyad Máhommed Khân, Paghmání, who is believed to be what is called a Súchah Saiyad,



or, one whose pedigree is undoubted, and who has influence with some of the Shékh Alí chiefs, hoped by the assistance of Saiyad Sháh Abbás, residing at Bitchílik, near Shibr, the Pír of the Shékh Alís, to procure by negotiation or purchase a passage through their territories. At the time of my leaving Bámián it was understood that Khán Máhoméd Khán was at Ahínggar, at the mouth of the valley of Topchí, Dáoud Máhoméd Khán at Irák, and Saiyad Máhoméd Khán at Bitchílik.

We proceeded down the valley of Bámián to the commencement of the valley of Topchí, where are two castles called Ahínggar, as before noted, which we found occupied by the troops of Khán Máhoméd Khán, and others. As we started late from Saiyadábád, so it was dark before we arrived here, and, as quarters were out of the question, I was obliged to pass the night in my postín on the ground, and although the cold was severe suffered no inconvenience.

About an hour after daylight many of the troops were in motion, but the horses of Khán Máhoméd Khán were not yet saddled. I however joined the promiscuous group proceeding, Barkat being to follow. We passed up the valley of Topchí, and ascended the Kotal Haft Pailán, but in place of making the summit inclined to the left, or east, and gained the crest of the Kotal Shútar Girdán, the descent of which is less considerable. Naturally steep and precipitous, it was now very troublesome

from the frozen snow, although the passage had been improved by the exertions of the Hazáras of Kálú. It became absolutely necessary to dismount, and with all our precautions numbers of horses lost their footing. The descent brought us into the defile of Morí, stretching from north to south, where was a castle, deserted by its inhabitants, and the entrance blocked up with stones. Here was a plantation of small trees, and a water-mill. On the rocks on the eastern side were considerable ancient remains, constructed of burnt bricks, and remarkable for neatness and solidity. Our course up the valley was long and difficult, and we had several times to cross and recross the half frozen rivulet. The road generally led over precipices, and many of the animals slipped down them, but, thanks to heaven, my little nag was sure and firm-footed, and passed all the dangerous spots with impunity.

It was still day when we reached Kálú, and passing under the castles occupied by Mír Zaffer and his relations, on eminences now on our right, came opposite to a kishlák on the other side of the rivulet, which had a rural bridge thrown over it. The kishlák was occupied by Shakúr Khân, Terín, with his horse Jisálchís. I waited until near dark for the arrival of Barkat, who not appearing, I was obliged to seek for quarters for the night. Shakúr Khân hearing of me, gave me into the hands of a brother of Mír Zaffer, enjoin-

ing him, if he valued the khân's good-will, to take charge of me. The mîr conducted me to his castle, and directed one of his people to conduct me to the Mihmân Khâna (house of guests), adjacent to it. This I found full of men and horses, the party of Saifadîn, the khân's Shâhghâssî, and brother to his náib, Sâdadîn. They were not willing to receive an intruder, and expressed themselves in terms of little decency or civility. I believe, however, they did not recognise me, and I did not take the trouble to make myself known. I now returned to the castle gate, and had reconciled myself to pass the night under its wall, when two horsemen arrived, inquiring where Shakûr Khân had taken up quarters. Seeing me, they told me to come with them, and we descended towards the kishlâk. On reaching the intervening stream our horses, on account of the darkness, were fearful of committing themselves to it, and I believe we must have spent above an hour in unavailing beating, kicking, and goading, before we finally succeeded in making them cross it. Shakûr Khân regaled me with a good supper, and provided barley and chaff for my horse. Throughout the night a splendid fire was kept up, maintained, however, at the expense of the implements of husbandry belonging to the Hazâras. We were yet sitting when Mîr Zaffer's brother arrived, and showed a letter from the khân, commanding the return of all the troops to Bâmiân.



Having no alternative but to return, Shakúr Khân's party saddled their horses, and one of the men did the same for me, when it was found that my bridle and one of the saddle-girths had been purloined. Shakúr Khân exhorted his men to produce the articles, and a saiyad of the party stood on the roof of a house and denounced the vengeance of the Prophet on whoever had taken the property of a stranger guest, but to no purpose—and I was compelled to proceed without having in my hand a guide or check to my horse. The good little animal did not allow me to suffer from the deficiency. We returned by the road we had come, and in progress I fell in with Barkat. On arrival at Topchí we proceeded to the first of the castles, where, every house being occupied, we were compelled to select a spot for the night under the walls. Here I found Shâhghâssí Oméd of the khân's establishment, who interested himself to procure me a lodging. Adjacent to the castle was a house in which Dín Máhoméd, a Júánshir merchant, with his son, had taken quarters. The Shâhghâssí, first civilly requested, and, on their demurring, insisted on their receiving me as a companion. They consented, and I in return declined to avail myself of what seemed to be considered a favour. Their servants came and entreated me to join their master, on which I went, and had a comfortable position assigned me. Dín Máhoméd was a tea-drinker, and was suffering great privation, having exhausted



his stock of the delectable herb. I had it in my power to give him a small supply, which put him in very good humour, and we passed a pleasant evening, enlivened by the presence of our landlady, a pretty lively young Tâjik wife.

Shâhghâssí Oméd perceiving my want of a bridle, produced a Hazára one not worth a dínár, which he said a friend of his was willing to sell for a rupee. I knew that the worthless bridle was his own, but considering he deserved a rupee for his attentions the preceding evening I purchased it. Just as I was going to mount, a man of Shakúr Khân's party came up and returned my own bridle, which it was feared to retain, supposing that I was returning to Bámiân, and might acquaint the khân with my loss. There was a small party of four, foot Jisálchís, now mounted indeed on horses, Hazára spoil, a portion of those under command of Júma Khân, Yúsef Zai, and who when at Kábal do duty at the Derwâzza Shâh Shéhíd of the Bálla Hissár. These men claimed me as an acquaintance, and attached themselves to me, as did three other men of Koh Dáman, Jisálchís also, but on foot. Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, Paghmâní, I have before noted, had proceeded to Bitchílík, and reports reached us that his negotiations with the Shékh Alí Hazáras had succeeded. We therefore determined to proceed and join him. We passed down the valley of Topchí, and on reaching that of Bámiân turned to our right, or east, and after no very great

distance passing a castle to the left, arrived under the ancient remains called the castle of Zohák, and crossing the rivulet of Kâlú, which at this point falls into the river of Bámiân, ascended the hills opposite to Zohák, the passage over which is called the Kotal of Irák. The road was good, and the ascent gradual, and the summit of the pass was a large table space, remarkable at all times for wind. We had hitherto traversed ground slightly covered with snow. The surface of the table space was, however, clear, the violence of the wind having dispersed whatever snow had fallen on it. On this day walking and leading my horse, the better to resist the cold, I was scarcely able to stand against the wind, which blew from the south. The north-westers are said to be terrible in power at this spot. The table space surmounted, the descent of the kotal commenced, which only at first a little steep, led us into a stony valley for a few hundred yards, when the open vale of Irák was entered. We halted at the first castle that occurred: there were others in front, and to our right, or south, one of the latter belonging to Shâh Máhoméd Saiyad, who had been condemned in fine. About six castles were only in sight, but we were told that there were others in contiguous valleys, considered as belonging to Irák, which formed an aggregate of twenty inhabited castles. The plain was nearly free from snow, and the cultivated lands were considerable; a small

rivulet irrigated the valley, flowing from the south to the north, and on it were many water-mills. Opposite to us, in the rocks north of the valley, were many caves, occupied by the kâfila from Bokhára, as the castles were by the soldiery. The inhabitants of Irâk beheld with consternation the ingress of so great a multitude, and were at a loss how to furnish supplies, which, of course, were imperiously demanded. In the castle in which we had sheltered ourselves, our party of nine persons, and six horses, were lodged in an apartment on the ground-floor; in other apartments was a Hákamzâda of Pesháwer, with a party of twenty, all mounted. The rîsh saféd, or father of the family occupying the castle, through necessity consented to provide chaff for the horses of his guests, but he was thrown into great anxiety by the arrival of a large herd of camels, the drivers of which bivouacked behind the castle walls, and laid hands on the old man's dried clover, as well as chaff. My companions installed me their khân, the better to practise their impositions on the Hazáras, a part they judged me competent to personate, being arrayed in garments of British chintz, and somewhat more respectably mounted than themselves; indeed, as the rîsh saféd observed, the khân's horse was the only one that had not been plundered from the Hazáras. I was compelled to witness, without the power of prevention, much insolence, presumption, and oppression; all



I could do was to conduct myself orderly, and to accept nothing without giving an equivalent. I was, fortunately, provided with a small supply of gúr, or coarse sugar in balls, the only saccharine substance to be procured at Bámián, with a few other articles prized by Hazáras; and by making small presents, which were gratifying to the receivers, I soon became a favourite.

The next day, no precise intelligence having been received by Saiyad Máhoméd Khán, Paghmání, and my companions holding good quarters, they determined to halt, as did the Hákamzâda. In the course of the day the khán's agent at Irák, Pâhín-dáh Khán, arrived, and told the rísh saféd that he was at liberty to eject his intruding guests, who were a set of vagabonds, roving about the country, contrary to the khán's orders, and that the khán had positively forbidden that any one should sell, or give to them a handful of chaff or barley. The rísh saféd observed that on my account, who was a Mússulmán among the whole, he was contented to give lodging for the night, and chaff for the horses, but prayed that he might be relieved from the presence of the camels, that were devouring, as he expressed it, his entrails. In the apartment allotted to us was a kandúr, or mud vessel of capacity, the mouth of which, as well as the sides, was plastered over; by sounding with their fingers my companions found it to be full, and they determined to open it during the night, and evacuate



a portion of the contents. A large bag of grain was also destined to similar treatment. During the day a Hindú from the kâfila had come to the castle with a trinket, which he wished to sell or exchange for necessities. One of the Jisálchís happened to be at the gateway, and took the trinket from the Hindú, under pretence of effecting its disposal; he came with it and secreted himself in a sheep-crib at the extremity of the apartment, and eluded all search that the Hindú and Hazáras of the castle made for him, while his comrades were highly indignant that one of their party should be suspected of dishonesty. Two of the three foot Jisálchís of Koh Dáman were nímázzís, or prayer-sayers, and one of them, after repeating Nímáz Shâm, or evening prayer, called for a mékh tavíla, or iron horse pin, avowing, without shame, that he was a balit, or adept at such nefarious work. He sounded the kandúr in various parts with the instrument, selecting the head as the spot to open; the operation to be postponed until midnight. Ultimately, when it was supposed that the Hazáras were at repose, the unhallowed despoilers arose, lighted the lamp, and first repaired to the bag, which they opened by cutting the threads with which it was sewed, and abstracted a quantity of grain. Being provided with large sewing-needles and thread, they reseeded the bag. Between our apartment and that in which the Hazáras of the castle slept there was no inter-

vening separation, both being as it were one apartment, one portion lying round to the right, the other to the left of the common entrance from without; hence it became a necessary but delicate matter so to manage the lamp that its light should not be seen by the Hazáras, and this was dexterously managed by the assistance of a chapan, or cloak. The kandúr was then assailed, and a quantity of, I believe, grain extracted. The aperture made was next cemented over with moist clay, previously prepared, and the stolen property securely deposited in the saddle-bags of the parties. They extinguished the lamp and again went to rest.

My companions by times saddled their horses and prepared to start, wishing to precede the discovery of the night's theft. One of the Hazára youths, however, examined the bag of grain, and exclaimed that it had been opened; the good rish saféd enjoined silence on him, observing, what had been done could not be helped, and addressing the Jisálchís, conjured them to behave with propriety in Shibr, where they would not find the people to be sags, or dogs; that it behoved them not to throw obloquy on the Pádshâh, whose servants they were; and he commended them to the Divine protection. He warmly pressed my hands when I mounted, and invoked on my head a variety of blessings, as did the other inhabitants of the castle. We crossed the rivulet in front of the castle,

and turning to the north passed through a defile into a small vale, where were two or three castles, the water accompanying us; this conducted us into another, more spacious, and inclined to the north-east, where were four or five castles and two or three kishlâks, with several caves, and the remains of ancient buildings on the rocks. There are also two or three zîârats, and numerous small groves of trees. The valley was perfectly free from snow, as were in great measure the adjacent hills. It was evidently a favoured spot, and the soil was so excellent that I found tobacco was among its products. It was called Búbúlâk. Its rivulet joined that of Irâk in the valley we had quitted, and both augment the river of Bámíân. Ascending the valley of Búbúlâk, we passed a spring, which on issuing from the rocks was sensibly warm. Above this point the valley contracts, and we began to have snow beneath our feet, the quantity increasing as we ascended. We arrived where a defile radiated to the east, which a guide we had with us told us led to Shibr; but our party, which was this day in company with the Hákamzâda, resolving to proceed to Bitchílík, we kept straight up the valley we were in. Our guide here wished to leave us, but the Hákamzâda would not suffer him, when, a very little farther on, he took the start of us, we being embarrassed by snow and ice, and either hiding himself or passing over the rocks, was lost to us. As we proceeded up the valley it became a mere defile, and



we were grievously incommoded by the accumulated snow and ice. A rivulet in it, now nearly icebound, proved a serious obstacle to our progress. Eventually clearing it, we found ourselves at the southern extremity of the vale of Bitchlík, which was open, but covered with snow. The vale extended from north to south, and passing some eight or ten castles and kishláks, we arrived at the castle of Saiyad Shâh Abbás, at its northern extremity, and at the base of the kotal leading into the Shékh Alí districts. On one of the towers of the castle was a pole, surmounted by a hand of metal, the emblem of the saiyad's power and character. We found that Saiyad Máhoméd Khân, Paghmâní, was within the castle; to which none of us were admitted, and Dín Máhoméd, the Júânshír merchant, was at the Míh-mân Khâna, under the walls. We learned that the Shékh Alí Hazáras had refused to grant a passage through their territory, and menaced no longer to reverence Saiyad Shâh Abbás as their pír, who seemed desirous to introduce the Afghâns among them. They said, if a passage were granted, that the Afghâns would the following year enter the country with guns, and compel them to pay tribute. The saiyad's brother had been first despatched, and on his return the saiyad himself had repaired to the Hazáras, but it was hardly to be expected that he would be more successful in his mission. Our arrival was said to be unfortunate, and calculated to frustrate the negotiation, and we were recommend-



ed to proceed to Shibr, which lay only a little to the south, a slight kotal intervening. We therefore crossed the kotal, which was not long, and rather a passage over an undulating high land than a pass, and came into the southern extremity of the vale of Shibr; ascended the vale, passing several castles and kishláks to the right and left; and at the head of it the Hákamzâda and his party were provided with quarters, and we were taken up a valley extending to the south, where were several castles, among which our party was distributed, the men on foot at one castle, and the horsemen in two castles. The people were willing to consider us as guests, and to provide us with food and our horses with provender, and they made a magnificent fire, continually heaping on it fresh fuel. We were regaled with a supper of fine wheaten cakes and krút. My companions having turned their eyes around the apartment, to discover if there was anything to purloin, and there being in it two or three kandúrs, to prevent a repetition of the scene of the preceding night I took an opportunity of going outside, and calling the rish saféd, cautioned him to make two of his young men sleep in our apartment; which step being adopted, baffled the furtively inclined. We sat up late this evening, some young Hazáras from the other castles having come on my account. Little presents won all hearts, and the donation of two or three sheets of paper to the son of the rish

saféd, who was a múlla, or able to read and write, wonderfully delighted him, as it did the old gentleman his father.

Our landlords in the morning, although they intimated the expediency of our departure, had the hospitality first to provide us with breakfast, and to feed our cattle. One of the Jisálchís had proceeded to the castle below, where the Hákamzáda had passed the night, to inquire of him how to act, as we were now situated. He replied, that if we thought we should not be ejected, it would be as well to remain, otherwise there was no alternative but to shift quarters. On return of the messenger a council of war was held by my companions, and it was decided that a removal was expedient and necessary; both as an ejection was to be apprehended, and there was a probability that the Hazáras of Shékh Alí would be seen crowning the summit of the kotal, it being understood that fifteen hundred of them had assembled on the other side on hearing of the advance of the Afghâns to Shibr.

The Hazáras of Shibr were more independent and fearless than those of the other districts we had visited. They said, in course of conversation, that they were raiyats of the Afghâns rather from a desire to live peaceably than from necessity. The Afghâns, they observed, might talk of their pādshâh, but they had none; Dost Máhoméd Khân of Kábal was not a pādshâh, but a lútmár, or robber. We

mounted and descended the vale of Shibr which terminated in a narrow defile ; which again opened into another valley stretching from north to south, and to the left, or south, were some five or six castles. Soon after we entered the valley which led us to Búbúlák, where we took up quarters at a kishlák, which proved to be but one house, very spacious and convenient. Our presence was not altogether acceptable to the owners, two brothers, and one of them went to prefer a complaint to the khân's agent, residing at Búbúlák. This man came, and after soothing the Hazáras, told my companions to get as much out of them as they could for the night, but to depart in the morning. They needed not this encouragement to assume importance ; and ourselves and horses were provided with food gratuitously.

In the morning, having first breakfasted, mounted, and passing successively the valley of Irâk and its kotal, we descended into the valley of Bámíán. A little beyond Zohâk was a castle, where my companions would fain have passed the night, but there were no others than females and children in it, the males having been sent with Rêhimdád Khân and Máhomed Alí Beg to Kârzár. The women weeping, and showing much anxiety, I continued my course, and was followed by the others of the party ; and urging my horse, reached Bámíán while it was yet day. I found that the khân had removed

from the castle of Saiyadabâd to that before the colossal statues, in which he formerly resided, and where Mîr Yezdânbaksh had been slain. Before reaching it, I was met by my companion Sirkerder Kamber, who led me to his quarters.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

Proposal of the Hazáras. — Surrender of Kârzár. — Proceedings of the khân's brothers. — Introduction of Saiyad Shâh Abbâs. — Fine imposed. — Destruction of his castle. — Fresh departure from Bâmiân. — Accident on the road. — Indifference of horsemen. — The khân's conference with Jehândád Khân. — Arrival at Kâlú. — Khân Máhommed Khân. — His quarters. — Distressed Hazáras. — Hâjikak. — Castle of Kârzár. — Unpleasant situation. — Castles. — Admittance refused. — Vain assault. — Final arrangement. — Good quarters. — River Helmand. — Yûrt. — Honai. — Castles of Ismael Khân. — Violence and altercation. — Robbery. — Admission to castle. — Apology and repast. — Terrific wind — Its effects. — Enter village. — Reception. — Halt. — Progress to Kâbal. — Arrival.

WE now learned that the Hazáras of Kârzár had despatched letters to the khân, offering to surrender the castles, if assured of indemnity for the past by the guarantees of Réhimdád Khân and Máhommed Ali Beg. It was singular to observe these men reduced to the necessity of seeking protection from their avowed enemies, and how fortune seemed to favour the khân's designs, by his adversaries voluntarily coming forward and relieving him from a state of embarrassment. Réhimdád Khân and Máhommed Ali Beg had been immediately despatched to Kârzár, and ere they reached it it was found

that Názir Mír Alí and Kâsim Khân were on the road to Bámiân to pay their respects to the khân. They arrived, and were courteously received, the khân telling Názir Mír Alí that he had a better opinion of him for having held out the castle, than he would have had had he surrendered it on hearing of his mír's death. Tidings of the occupation of the castles of Kârzâr now reached, and the road to Kâbal became open.

The khân's two brothers, Dáoud Máhommed Khân and Khân Máhommed Khân, had before, with Saiyad Máhommed Khân, Paghmání, taken oaths that they would not return to Bámiân, and had each thrown three stones on the ground, vowing they would have no further connexion with the khân, agreeably to an Afghân custom, called "Sang talák," or divorce by stones. Dáoud Máhommed Khân, in observance of his oath, was at Irák, and Khân Máhommed Khân, with like scruples, occupied some caves below Bámiân. Saiyad Máhommed Khân failing in his negotiations with the Shékh Alí Hazáras for a passage, returned without hesitation to Bámiân; as an Afghân, considering oaths trivial matters, or, as a saiyad, looking upon himself privileged to disregard them. He brought also with him the sons and brothers of Saiyad Sháh Abbás of Bitchílik, and introduced them to the khân's acquaintance, which subsequently became so intimate that the khân imposed a fine of five thousand rupees on the saiyad, who procuring a letter from the sirdár of

Kâbal in his favour, the khan first pillaged and then demolished his castle, writing to the sirdâr that his letter unfortunately had come too late. The saiyard, exaggerating, possibly, estimated his loss of property at twenty thousand rupees. The khân visited his brother, Khân Máhoméd Khân, in the caves, and much urged him to remain at Bámiân. The latter was inflexible, and many high words passed, and it was finally agreed that each should no longer consider the other as a brother, and written documents to that effect were interchanged. But it was all a farce: Khân Máhoméd Khân's departure was concerted; and if the khân's designs were liable to suspicion by the sirdâr of Kâbal, it was necessary that the loyalty of Khân Máhoméd should not be suspected. Dáoud Máhoméd Khân had consented to remain. I now made arrangements to accompany Khân Máhoméd Khân.

It being understood that Khân Máhoméd Khân would pass the night at Topchí, I was in no great hurry to start from Bámiân, and remained there until midday. The khân himself took horse, and had proceeded to Ahíngar for the purpose, as was supposed, of conferring with his brothers. Dáoud Máhoméd Khán, I knew, had been summoned from Irák. I now followed him alone, a young man of Kâbal, who had engaged to attend my horse on the road, being to join at Topchí. Passed down the valley of Bámiân; and at some distance beyond the castle of Amír Máhoméd Tájik,

where the road borders on a precipice, was assailed by the cries of two youths, cutting ghaz-bushes in the valley of the river beneath. They were too distant to be intelligibly heard, but I found that they directed my attention to something below the precipice. Discovering, after some trouble, a path down into the bed of the valley, I found lying in agony, and with countenances pale as death, Saiyad Abdúlah and his son, noticed as being inmates of the Sandúk Khâna tent in the Bísút expedition. They had obtained permission from the khân to return to Kâbal, and he had given to them one of the running camels brought from Sind, which carried both, and, mounted on this animal, they had left Bámiân to join Khân Máhoméd Khân. The camel at this dangerous spot had slipped, or trod falsely, and precipitated himself and riders from a height of seventy or eighty feet. The animal was killed on the spot; the men were still living: nor did I know the extent of the injury they had received. Two horsemen joined us, and I wished the saiyad and his son to be conveyed to the Tâjik's castle behind, but this was refused, the horsemen asking, when had Tâjiks become Mússulmâns? As I could not carry them myself, all to be done was, to collect their effects and place them under their heads. On reaching Ahíngar, I found the khân sitting on an eminence south of the castles, in conversation with Dáoud Mahomed Khân, his náib Sádadín,



Múlla Jân Máhoméd the envoy from Sind, and Jehândád Khân, a Khâka; the two latter proceeding to Kâbal. I joined the group; and although the discourse was in Pashto, was able to comprehend the general drift. The khân, adverting to the probability of Dost Máhoméd Khân's displeasure, or suspicions, desired Jehândád to represent to him the important services rendered, with which, if satisfied, well; if not, turning to the castles in view, he said, Here I have castles, villages, and gardens, and can content myself. Dáoud Máhoméd Khân smiled, and observed, he feared the sirdár would say that Hâjí had taken to his "âkbal tagghí," or, his own peculiar mode of humbugging. The khân, on rising, gave me in charge to Múlla Jân Máhoméd and Jehândád Khân, urging their attention to me on the road, and instructing them to tell Khân Máhoméd Khân not to suffer me to incur any expense to Kâbal.

In company with my new companions, we passed Topchí, when I found our destination was Kâlú. We crossed the Kotal Shutar Girdân, and descended into the valley of Morí, when yet a glimmering of light remained. As we ascended it darkness set in, and although the road was intricate and dangerous, and some of the animals sometimes slipped, we reached Kâlú in safety. We repaired to the castle of Mír Zaffér's brother, who took us to the mihmân khâna, where again was Shâhghássí Saifadín and his party. They were

unwilling, as before, to receive me, but admitted my companions, who made me over to a Hazára, telling him to conduct me to Khán Máhoméd Khán. I was taken to a castle a little north, and introduced to Khán Máhoméd Khán, sitting by a cheerful fire in a spacious room, with some one lying by his side hidden under bed-clothes. He was excessively angry with Múlla Jân Máhoméd for having turned me adrift at so unseasonable an hour, and said, that but for his female companion—the hidden thing under the bed-clothes proved to be a Hazára kaníz, or slave-girl—I should have shared his apartment. As it was I was furnished with supper, and then provided with lodging in another apartment, where were four or five horses. Although so late, chaff and barley were produced for my horse, by a brother or son of Mír Zaffer. I may observe, that as we traced the valley of Morí we met a number of men, women, and children, Hazáras of Kálú, who had been compelled to abandon their dwellings to the Afghán soldiery, and with weepings and lamentations, were proceeding, I presume, to the caves at Morí.

Early in the morning our horses were saddled, and understanding the night was to be passed at Girdau Díwál, I proceeded, falling in with such horsemen as first advanced, without communicating with Khán Máhoméd Khán. As we traced the vale of Kálú the snow began to lie heavy on the

soil, increasing in quantity as we neared the Kotal or pass of Hâjîkak. The ascent of the kotal was comparatively easy, and the road, if free from snow, is probably good: the descent is much more steep, and was now very troublesome. At the base of the kotal on this side was a castle to the left, called Hâjîkak. We now entered the valley of Kârzâr, and our road was strewn with the skeletons of the animals that had perished during the march of the Ghûlâm Khâna troops. After some distance we reached the two castles of Kârzâr, one seated left of the rivulet, and the other, that built by Mîr Yezdânbaksh, right of it, and on the line of the road. The latter was garrisoned by Afghâns, and the former by Mâhomed Alî Beg and his Sêghânehîs. From Kârzâr the valley widens a little, and afterwards expands at a place called Sêh Killa (the three castles), where were, indeed, the number indicated of inhabited castles, and two or three ruinous ones. Hence the valley again contracts until we reach Sîâh Sang (the black rock), where Mîr Yezdânbaksh slew the Vakîl Saifûlah, the murderer of his father, who himself was also slain here. At this spot it is connected with another, turning to the right, which we followed. We marched until dark, and I had the mortification to learn that Khân Mâhomed Khân had remained at Kârzâr. I was, therefore, in a manner alone, and left to my own exertions and the favour of heaven. The horsemen in front of me had proceeded until no vestige of a



path was discernible, and as it was night they were in much perplexity. We had, without knowing it, arrived at the spot where the valley of Síáh Sang opens into that of the Helmand river. After much search a path was reported, leading up the eminences on our right: this was pursued, and brought us on a table space, which we traversed, in hopes of finding some inhabited spot. We came upon two castles, the inmates of which manned the walls, and loudly protested against our halting. The whole body of horse collected around the second castle, and as snow was falling, and our situation was becoming very desperate, some of the most belligerent of the party called upon their companions, styling them the victors of Séghân and Káhmerd, and exclaimed, it would be disgraceful if they could not compel the Hazáras to admit them. The gates of the castle were assailed by axes and stones, but in vain, when the owner offered, if his guests quietly took up quarters under the walls, to provide them with fuel and chaff; but he peremptorily affirmed that none should be admitted within the castle. These terms were accepted. It was soon discovered that the two castles belonged to two brothers, Máhoméd Shaffí Khân and Máhoméd Hassan Khân, Talishes, and not Hazáras. The latter was present, the former at Kábal. My condition was not much improved, having no one that I could claim as a companion, and no one willing to admit me as such. In this dilemma I addressed myself to Máhoméd Hassan Khân, who was now



busy among the men in promoting their arrangements. He instantly took my hand, and put it into that of one his servants, telling him to take me and my horse to the farther castle. Here I was comfortably lodged, had a good supper, and the sons of my landlords passed a good part of the night with me in chit-chat. I found the name of the place was Tabúr, and that it was part of the district of Girdan Díwâl.

In the morning we retraced the road to the junction of the valley of Siáh Sang with that of the Helmand river, which we crossed, the stream flowing under ice. On the eminences to our left were two or three castles and kishláks, and in front of them were sitting numbers of Hazáras, with their firelocks, not, as I imagine, for the purpose of annoying us, but of securing themselves from interruption. From the Helmand we ascended the valley, leading southerly for some distance, and then another, stretching easterly, which finished in an ascent rather than a kotal, which brought us on the plain of Yúrt, of some extent. Here were three castles visible, much to the left of the road; the nearest one, of superior construction, was that of Mír Afzil. From Yúrt another ascent, or slight kotal, brought us into the plain of Kirghú, at the base of the Kotal Honai. The passage of this kotal was difficult, and there were few traces of a road. However, we succeeded in crossing it, and descended into the valley of Honai, it being still daylight. Many took

up quarters at Killa Vazír, the castle of Zúlfakár Khán; others, with myself, proceeded. On reaching the castle of Mastapha Khán entrance was refused, and we went on until we reached the castles at the opening of Sir Chishma, belonging to Ismael Khán Merví. It was now night, and admittance alike refused. The heroes of Káhmerd and Séghân again had recourse to ineffectual menace and violence; the walls of the castles were manned, and some shots, probably blank ones, fired from them. The party at length contented themselves with a large stable and masjít without the walls. I here saw no remedy but passing the night on the ground, and the best place I could find was under the gateway of the castle. My postín was wet on the outside, as a good deal of snow had fallen during the day, but I had a large excellent nam-mad, or felt, fastened behind my saddle, which I now trusted would avail me, but on rising from the ground, where I had been sitting, with my horse's bridle in my hands, I found it had been cut away. While uttering fruitless denunciations against the robber, a voice from within the castle whispered to me, that if I sat a little while till the Afghâns were settled I should be admitted. These were glad tidings, and the promise was fulfilled; the gates were opened, and myself and horse dragged in. I was led to a warm apartment, where was a sandallí, and thrusting my legs under it, was as comfortable as I could be.

In the morning an excellent breakfast of stewed fowl was provided, it having been discovered that I was a Feringhí, and not a Telinghí, as had been at first supposed; and some of the ladies of Ismael Khán, who proved to be in the castle, sent an apology for having lodged me the night with grooms. This was unnecessary; I was too grateful for the shelter afforded to quarrel with the company I found myself in, and desiring my thanks to be conveyed, mounted and left the castle. There arose a terrific south wind, which carried the drifting snow before it. I had never in my life witnessed anything so violent, and until now had never formed a just conception of the effects of a wind-tempest during winter in these regions. I bore up, however, against it, successively passing through the districts of Sir Chishma, Tirkhâna, and Jelléz, when my powers yielded, and I found myself becoming insensible. Fortunately, at this critical moment a village was a little right of the road, to which I turned my horse, who also had become faint. Crossed the stream of the valley by a bridge, and entered the village on its bank. Threw myself from the horse, and entered, without ceremony, the first house with open door. The master, who saw how things stood, recommended me to the masjít, engaging to take care of my horse. I replied, my good man, I am a Feringhí, and what have I to do with the masjít. On which he instantly led me into an upper apartment, occupied by a brother.



There was a sandallí ; my boots were pulled off, and my feet examined, which had suffered no injury. My new host, seeing a good Hazára barrak bound round my waist, offered to receive it in lieu of other remuneration, and to kill a sheep in the evening. I gave it to them on condition, that if the wind continued on the morrow they should not turn me out of doors. My right eye had been affected by the snow, and became very painful towards night ; after trying a variety of experiments, the pain yielded to the application of pressure.

On the morrow, the wind continuing with unabated violence, I halted at Zémanní, agreeably to engagement. My landlords here were men engaged in petty traffic with the districts of Séghân, Káhmér, the Dasht Saféd, &c. They affirmed, that they were at a castle on the Dasht Saféd when Hâjî Khân made his reconnoissance, and that had he advanced the Tátars would have fled.

From Zémanní, the wind having ceased, I started for Kábal, and arrived before sunset. My Armenian friends were rejoiced to see me again, and forgetting the perils of the road and the rigours of Bámián, I passed in their society a pleasant evening, which, by their calculation, was that of Christmas-day.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.





SOURCES TO THE HISTORY OF DISCOVERIES  
AND GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA

I

**MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE**  
**An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul**

Graz 1969. Reprint of the edition London 1815. Bio-bibliographical notes by Dr. A. Janata, Vienna (in English). 1 vol., 722 pp., 14 plates (13 in colour), 2 maps, 8vo, cloth.  
ISBN 3-201-00204-6

Elphinstone's account on Afghanistan is one of the most important sources for the ethnography and history of that country . . . We are offering our congratulations to the Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt for the perfect reprinting (with the coloured plates) of this important book.

Bibliotheca Orientalis, Jg. XXVII, No.1/2, 1970, p. 113

II

**JOHN BIDDULPH**  
**Tribes of the Hindoo Coosh**

Graz 1971. Reprint of the edition Calcutta 1880. Preface to the 1971 ed. by Dr. K. Gratzl, Graz (in English). 1 vol., 352 pp., 9 plates, 2 text illustrations, 1 map, 8vo, cloth.  
ISBN 3-201-00205-4

In Anbetracht der Randlage der von Biddulph behandelten Kulturen und Sprachen ist dieses Werk für die kulturgeschichtliche Forschung unentbehrlich. Im „Rückzugsgebiet“ des östlichen Hindukusch und des Karakorum haben sich bis heute Kulturmanifestationen bewahrt, die in der Ethnologie und Linguistik Asiens Schlüsselpositionen einnehmen. In diesem Sinne ist der vorliegende Neudruck als unentbehrliche Quelle für die Asienforschung zu bezeichnen.

A. Janata in: Archiv für Völkerkunde, Bd. 25, Wien 1971, S. 243

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**III**  
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In this standard work the author deals not only with geology but with every subject necessary to a general geographical treatise. Notably he paid close attention to the economic resources of the country he traversed.

*Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1964, vol. 19, p. 298*

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